

JPRS 69293

22 June 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1404 - A

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
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20000329 156

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS 69293	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.	
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1404 - A				5. Report Date 22 June 1977	
7. Author(s)				6.	
8. Performing Organization Rept. No.				10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201				11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above				13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
				14.	
15. Supplementary Notes					
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input type="checkbox"/> Romania <input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms					
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15					
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED		21. No. of Pages 192
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED		22. Price PC A09

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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Results of Geneva SALT Talks Viewed (Andras Kanyo; NEPSZABADSAG, 26 May 77).....	1
Poland's Werblan Addresses Prague Publication Conference (TRYBUNA LUDU, 29 Apr 77).....	3
Polish Leaders Greet Czechoslovak Counterparts on National Day (TRYBUNA LUDU, 9 May 77).....	6
Polish Leaders Greet Romanian Counterparts on Anniversary (TRYBUNA LUDU, 9 May 77).....	8
Poor Treatment of Hungarian Minority in Romania Reported (IRODALMI UJSAG, Mar-Apr 77).....	10
BULGARIA	
Influence of Foreign Radio Stations Condemned (Nikola Kofetarov; ARMEYSKA MLADEZH, No 4, 1977)....	46
Need To Observe Socialist Legality Stressed (Yanko G. Yanev; PRAVNA MISUL, No 1, 1977).....	50
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Hoffmann Makes Closing Speech (Prague Domestic Television Service, 28 May 77).....	66

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Trade Union Congress Elects Leading Bodies (PRACE, 30 May 77).....	70
EAST GERMANY	
Harry Tisch Addresses Ninth FDGB Congress (Various sources, various dates).....	72
Socialist Way of Life Implementation of Helsinki Document No Warmongering	
Honecker Addresses Trade Union Congress (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 May 77).....	91
April 1977 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Apr 77).....	104
Development of Personal Freedom in Socialism Discussed (Wolfgang Eichhorn I; EINHEIT, Apr 77).....	105
Personal Freedom Discussed in Light of Scientific- Technical Progress (Guenter Kroeber; EINHEIT, Apr 77).....	119
Socialist Personality Development in Light of Technological Progress (Harry Nick; EINHEIT, Apr 77).....	128
Significance of National Culture in Socialism Discussed (Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Werner Kuehn; EINHEIT, Apr 77).....	140
Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles (Frank Joachim Herrmann, et al.; EINHEIT, Apr 77).....	152
CDU Leader Stresses Responsibility for Socialist Society (Ulrich Fahl; UNION TEILT MIT, Apr 77).....	156
SED's Konrad Naumann Interviewed on Iraqi Visit (Konrad Naumann Interview; HORIZONT, No 23, 1977).....	158

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

SED Delegation Begins Talks With Norwegian Communist Party (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 Jun 77).....	162
--	-----

Plans for Civil-Defense Mobilization (DER SPIEGEL, 13 Jun 77).....	163
---	-----

Facts, Figures Supplied on Colleges, Technical Schools (PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN, 21 Apr 77).....	165
--	-----

HUNGARY

Defense Association Official Interviewed (Lajos Kiss Interview; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 5 Jun 77)....	169
---	-----

POLAND

Warsaw Takes Sharper Measures Against Dissidents (DIE WELT, 30 Apr 77).....	172
--	-----

Fired Demonstrators Re-Employed (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 3 May 77).....	173
--	-----

Polish Minister, Western Agencies Cited on Krakow Events (L'UNITA, 18 May 77).....	174
---	-----

'L'UNITA' Reports Developments on Dissidents (L'UNITA', 21 May 77).....	176
--	-----

Writers, Artists Call for Release of Political Prisoners (Nicholas Carroll; THE SUNDAY TIMES, 22 May 77)....	178
---	-----

Warsaw Support for Radom Prisoners, Church Role Described (L'HUMANITE, 30 May 77).....	180
---	-----

'POLITYKA' Applauds Solicitude for CSCE Agreements (PAP, 29 Apr 77).....	182
---	-----

'TRYBUNA LUDU' Comments on East-West Flow of Information (PAP, 25 Apr 77).....	184
---	-----

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESULTS OF GENEVA SALT TALKS VIEWED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 May 77 p 2

[Report by the paper's Moscow correspondent; article by Andras Kanyo:
"After the Geneva Meeting"]

[Text] Moscow, 25 May--What did the meeting of the Soviet and American foreign ministers in Geneva produce? Does the American side assume a more realistic position after the meeting, and does it draw the necessary conclusions from the failure of the Moscow meeting?

These are questions to which international public opinion interested in the improvement in the connections between the two countries, in the continuation of disarmament, and a thaw in the political situation had a right to expect answers. The expectation is heightened by the fact that during the first meeting, not due to a fault of the Soviet side, there was no progress in the preparation of a new agreement on the limitation of strategical offensive weaponry.

Unfortunately, the picture which develops following the release of official communiques and commentaries about the Geneva talks is once again not an unequivocally positive one. The reasons for the lack of success at the talks thus far are well known. The American side presented proposals which would actually mean the revision of the Vladivostok agreement, and would assure unilateral advantages for the United States. As could be expected, this attempt was firmly rejected by the Soviet side. Neither was it disguised that, according to Moscow's evaluation, leaving consideration of the realistic consideration aside, the rough attempts to meddle in the Soviet Union's internal affairs are having an unfavorable effect on the atmosphere of the talks. Although the Soviet Union sincerely desires to arrive at a new SALT agreement on the limitation of the arms race, it will not allow itself to be blackmailed.

But in Washington there were attempts to make the public believe that because of the newness of the American proposals, the Soviet Union needs time to study them, but they will finally accept them as a basis for the talks.

But opinion in more sober American and Western European circles, at the same time, was that Carter and his government proceeded irresponsibly in trying to sweep the earlier agreement aside, and present proposals to the Soviet Government which were inherently unacceptable. These circles openly stated that, in the interest of the success of the talks, the American Government is the party which has to reevaluate its position, made even more clear by the fact that the credibility of the American position, to put it mildly, is worsened by the additional billions of dollars approved in recent days for the improvement of strategic weapons.

The new meeting in Geneva took place against this background. From the communique made public about the discussions, and from the statements of the foreign ministers, it can unambiguously be seen that the meeting was necessary and useful. Above all, an opportunity arose for the further clarification of respective positions, and some progress was even made in shaping a common framework for further discussions. In other words, the two sides' positions on some issues not resolved earlier more closely approximated each other.

Thus a positive feature of the Geneva conference was that the matter of a new SALT agreement began to shift from a deadlocked position. At the same time, as was also concluded by a recent TASS commentary, it would be too early to speak about having solved the main problems regarding the limitation of strategic arms. The respective views are still far apart on many points. Many obstacles must still be overcome on the road leading to preparation of an agreement, if for no other reason, because the American side, even though there are signs its earlier position has modified somewhat, still has not abandoned efforts directed toward gaining unilateral advantages. This is one of the conclusions of the exchange of views in Geneva. The other is that the meeting proved again that an agreement can be reached about the limitation of strategic arms, provided that those in Washington are finally willing to approach the problem in a constructive manner and make an honest, sincere effort to work out a mutually acceptable agreement which observes the security of both sides.

Carter and his immediate staff have obligated themselves to continue the policy of detente in the speech he made during the campaign prior to the American presidential election, and in statements made since his inauguration. But words and deeds do not match, for the time being. Thus, only the proposed new sessions of the talks may provide an answer to the question of whether the new government is really ready to translate its promises to continue the policy of detente, and, within that framework, to further improve Soviet-American relations and limit the arms race, into deeds.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLAND'S WERBLAN ADDRESSES PRAGUE PUBLICATION CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 77 p 2 AU

[Report on speech by Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Werblan at the 28 April session of the Prague conference on THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM monthly]

[Text] The achievements of THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, which has been appearing for the past 19 years, have fully reaffirmed the correctness of the decisions made by the communist and workers parties which called this monthly to life, A. Werblan said in opening. The monthly will play its role the better, the stronger, it is linked with the current problems of our movement and with the requirements of the international situation.

The PZPR, A. Werblan said, attaches great importance to the monthly's publication and activities seeking to promote the Marxist-Leninist theory, and to intensify the analyses of the basic issues of the present times. The PZPR Seventh Congress mapped out a program for building a developed socialist society in Poland. This is our party's general line at the present stage.

The Polish Marxists are now undertaking extensive theoretical work to analyze the general laws of developed socialism and to concretely implement them under Polish conditions. We are tightening our cooperation with the social sciences in other socialist countries, and we attach the highest importance to the theoretical achievements and experience of the CPSU. The 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will favor the efforts to examine comprehensively the basic problems of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction. In connection with this anniversary, we are developing in Poland extensive scientific and propaganda activity on the basis of the Politburo resolution. We are focusing our attention on the links between the socialist revolution in Russia and the fate of the Polish nation. Our workers movement developed under Lenin's direct influence. Thousands of Poles fought in the 1917 revolution, whose victory opened the road to the Polish nation's independence. These traditions are now magnificently blossoming and are continued in the alliance and friendship which bind Poland and the USSR.

Discussing the tasks posed for THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM by the present international situation, A. Werblan stressed the success of the progressive forces at the Helsinki conference, and continued:

We have now entered a period of the difficult struggle to deepen the process of detente and to correctly interpret and implement the principles of detente. Our position on the CSCE final act is clear: we are for a comprehensive implementation of all the decisions of this act--the decisions on the inviolability of borders, on noninterference in internal affairs, on international security and economic trade, and scientific-technical cooperation, and on the issues concerning exchanges of people and information. Of basic importance to peace now is reinforcing political detente with military detente, which calls for unfailingly observing the principles of equal, balanced security. The socialist countries, and above all the Soviet Union, have taken this very position.

We also want to implement fully the "third basket" decisions, the Central Committee secretary continued. Exchanges of people and information should strengthen the confidence among nations and reduce tension. This can be done above all by exchanging cultural and scientific values. The socialist countries, including people's Poland, have had enormous achievements in this area and have accomplished more than anyone else to propagate the creative achievements of all nations in their own countries.

Recently, it has become particularly fashionable for the Western anticommunist centers to attack socialist democracy and the political system of genuine socialism. The aim of these attacks is to sow distrust of socialism among the people in the capitalist countries, and to try to exert a destructive influence on socialist societies. This is why this issue calls for our movement's vigilant attention. The socialist system is implementing a far broader scope of democratic rights and freedoms than is at all conceivable under capitalism.

The extensive range of the social rights implemented in people's Poland is universally known. The scope and guarantees of these rights have been greatly extended and strengthened in the past few years, but there are those who assert that the socialist countries implement social equality while curbing political freedoms. This is an obvious untruth, because the material inequality among people and the inequality of their social opportunities have always been the biggest curbs on political freedom. As in the other countries of genuine socialism, we in Poland are always intensifying our efforts to implement political freedoms conceived as the working people's participation in government and management. It is clear that the socialist countries implement political democracy in other forms than those developed by the capitalist system, and that this democracy has different class contents and a greater scope.

People's Poland has developed a political system which is compatible with the general laws of socialism, and which is rooted in our country's national

traditions and specific conditions. Within the framework of this system, there are no bases for the ossification of political divisions and for the institutions function of antagonistic contradictions. Our democratic institutions function in a way that unites our society instead of dividing it. They also combine democratic discussions and consultations before decisions are taken, with unity and discipline in implementing these decisions.

In conclusion, A. Werblan stated that one of the main tasks of THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM should be efforts to strengthen the internationalist unity of the world revolutionary process and the socialists system, of the communist movement in the capitalist world, and of the national liberation movement.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH LEADERS GREET CZECHOSLOVAK COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 May 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text] To Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR; and to Comrade Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the government of the CSSR, in Prague:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of your National Day--the 32d anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation--on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, and the government of the Polish People's Republic, we send to the fraternal peoples of the CSSR, the CPCZ Central Committee, the government of the CPCZ, and to you personally our warmest fraternal greetings.

The Polish people watch with affection the achievements in fraternal Czechoslovakia's social, economic, and cultural life.

Through their daily, creative, and selfless toil the Czechoslovak peoples, united around their Communist Party, are making a great contribution to the blossoming of their socialist motherland, and to the consolidation of the socialist community. We offer cordial congratulations to the Czechoslovak peoples on their successes, and wish them further achievements in implementing the important decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

Our countries and peoples are linked by their firm resolve to further expand their mutual relations for the good of our communities, to enhance the strength and unity of the community of the socialist states, and to make consistent efforts for the sake of peace in Europe and the world.

Comrade Gustav Husak's recent visit in Poland has provided a new stimulus to the fraternal cooperation between our two countries. We are convinced that this year's visit of the party-state delegation of the Polish People's Republic in the CSSR will be another important step in this cooperation.

This year, Poland and Czechoslovakia will have celebrated two important anniversaries which mark our friendship and mutual cooperation--the 30th anniversary of our treaty of alliance, and the 10th anniversary of our treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance.

The creative implementation of the treaty in force, and our two states' cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as our cooperation within the Warsaw Pact are the guarantee of the further development of our mutual relations and of the successful development of both our countries.

On this solemn day of the CSSR, the Polish people, who have so many strong ties with the Czechoslovak people, send you their most cordial wishes. Dear comrades, may the peoples of the CSSR enjoy the further comprehensive development of their socialist motherland.

((signed)) Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic; and Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

CSO: 2600

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH LEADERS GREET ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 May 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Bucharest:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the centenary of Romania's independence, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, the Polish people, and on our own behalf we send to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people, and to you personally, our cordial congratulations and best wishes.

The emergence of independent Romania was the crowning success of the Romanian people's century-long efforts to achieve an independent existence. The past century of your statehood represents a period of indefatigable toil and struggle for the Romanian people's most vital interests.

The traditions of fraternal Polish-Romanian friendship reach into the distant past. Their new substance has been enriched by the embarkation upon the road to socialist construction by both our nations.

Poland's and Romania's membership in the great family of the socialist community, and their mutually beneficial cooperation in the spirit of loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism help enhance and strengthen the importance and unity of the socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement, and the worldwide front of the struggle for progress and socialism.

The treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance signed by us on 12 November 1970 serves well the development of friendship and cooperation between our states and peoples.

Dear comrades, on this jubilee day of Romania's statehood, we wish you and the Romanian people new great successes in socialist construction in the name of strengthening peace and friendship among nations.

[signed] Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic; Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2600

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POOR TREATMENT OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA REPORTED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian Nos. 3-4, Mar-Apr 77 Supplement pp 1-8

[Unsigned article: "Report from Transylvania"]

[Text--preface by IRODALMI UJSAG] The reader receives a unique document with the text which follows. There has been more than one report, study or book in recent years about Transylvania, about the situation of the Hungarians in Transylvania, but to the best of our knowledge this is the first time that a larger and comprehensive work has spoken to us not only about Transylvania but also from Transylvania. There is no hope that it should appear in the place of its birth or even in contemporary Hungary. For this reason we consider it an obligation on IRODALMI UJSAG to publish it as a supplement to our paper.

The author, who is a well known public life personality, signs his work Gyorgy Lazar.

It is not our task to analyze, praise or criticize this study. But let us stress its calm, moderate and objective tone and spirit. Some of the statements, perhaps, could or should be disputed but this is not what is crucial. What is crucial is its profound credibility, the portrayal from within of the life, fate and destruction of the Transylvanian Hungarians. With the exception of the introductory historical part and the concluding social philosophy or psychological part the bulk of the work is a sort of detailed notary's report. There is no striving for literary or dramatic effect; individual tragedies are not portrayed. It shows everyday life and discusses the problems of industry, education, culture and economic policy. The tragedy of 2 million Transylvanian Hungarians instead of the individual tragedies. And however restrained the voice of the narrator--or perhaps simply because of it--the reading of the cold numbers and the gray data make one's eyes fill with tears and one's hand, again and again, form a fist. One does not have to be a nationalist or a chauvinist--just the opposite--for one to choke on the question: Is this possible? In the very middle of Europe, at the end of the 20th Century, can a people with a great past and a profound culture be destroyed with deliberate guile and persistent cruelty? The dry notary's

report becomes an indictment. It becomes an indictment against the national communists sitting on the necks of the Romanian people but also an indictment against the Hungarian leaders of today. There is not a single other government in Europe which would be inclined to bear so mutely and so servilely as that of Budapest the monstrosity which is being perpetrated next door to a minority deriving from its own people.

In the case of the Transylvanian Hungarians silence is the same thing as destruction. Departing from our custom, we make a request of those who read the following text: Do not only read it; spread it as well. Spread it in its entirety or in excerpts, but spread it at home and in the western world. Translate it into the language of the country in which you live, give it to parliament, to the ministers, to trade union, church or public life leaders, to the newspapers, radio stations and television. It appears from one brief reference in the text that the action of Hungarians in America has forced the Bucharest nationalists to make certain concessions in Transylvania. There is no other way to save the Hungarians and Szekelys in Transylvania than an international reporting on and protest against the situation. Helsinki prescribes respect for human rights, including the rights of national minorities. We request and demand nothing more than respect for the Helsinki Treaty --in Transylvania as well! [and preface]

The Scene

Of those countries which regard themselves as national states Romania is the least so. It would be more correct to call it a state of nationalities. This is justified by the number of nationalities and their proportions. Minorities make up about 15 percent of the population of the entire country, according to official and thus minimizing statistics. The most numerous are the Hungarians, followed by the Germans (Saxons and Swabians) and the Serbian minority. But there are also Ukrainians, Lipovacians, Slovaks and other Slavic ethnic groups.

In order to understand the situation one must note that the crucial part of the minorities live west of the Carpathians, in Transylvania in its broadest sense (historically in Transylvania and the Banat), in that area which earlier was part of that Hungary which belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy. This limitation is not artificial because, due to the relatively late creation of the Romanian nation and the "national" state, the various historical parts of the country really did not merge together. Moldavia, Wallachia, Oltenia, etc. are not only geographic regions; their cultural levels are different and the social or psychological profile of their populations show noticeable differences. The difference is especially striking between the parts of the country west and east of the Carpathians. This is one reason why the nationalities problem here is a fundamental problem and interdependent with this the history of this part of the country has developed social relationships different from the others.

The geographical distribution of the populace in Transylvania is such that rational boundaries cannot be drawn on ethnic foundations, no boundaries which would make possible a state adjustment of the national question.

The only "solutions" which are possible are those as a result of which millions of some nation end up in a minority situation. One reason for this is the high degree of dispersal and mixing but the other is that the Hungarian group, the most homogeneous living in one block, live in the eastern part, at the foot of the Carpathians.

According to official statistics, in 1966 (when the total population of the country was 19,103,000) the 6,719,000 inhabitants of Transylvania consisted of 4,613,000 Romanians, 1,598,000 Hungarians and 378,000 Germans. But it must be noted that no census data in Transylvania are reliable because both the Romanian and the Hungarian state, in turn, distorted the figures. At the same time, as a result of the assignment of the region here or there, large numbers from the rest of Hungary or from the rest of Romania migrated to Transylvania and the majority of these again left Transylvania at the time of the next change of power. The distribution of the two most populous minorities is as follows: One of the largest groups of the Germans lived in Banat (the Swabians who settled in the 18th Century) and the other large group in the southern part of Transylvania (the Saxons who settled in the 13th Century and constitute a closed world). The latter number about 250,000 --at least according to official statistics. Before the war there were twice as many Saxons. In the country as a whole the number of Hungarians can be put at 2 million (according to authors who compare various statistics and make minor or major corrections). Of these, 200,000 live east of the Carpathians--in Bucharest and Moldavia (Csangos). These authors put the number in Transylvania 200,000 higher than the official statistics and this can be regarded as realistic. The most populous group of these live along the Hungarian border, about 680,000 while the Szekelys constitute the most homogeneous group at the foot of the Carpathians--670,000. About 210,000 live near Kolozsvár [Cluj] in a more or less connected area while the rest, about 100,000, live partly in the southeast part of Transylvania and partly scattered in islands and various cities.

Antecedents

Because of the deviations the social distribution of the nationalities uniquely defines the situation. The Transylvanian towns were founded in the 13th Century, almost all of them by Saxons. A few of these became Hungarianized beginning in the 14th Century. A stronger Hungarian urbanization developed in the 17th Century but this resumed only in the 19th Century. The school system of the Saxon and Hungarian population developed greatly in the 16th and 17th centuries and bourgeois culture began to develop then. Romanian schools and Romanian culture began to develop more strongly in the second half of the 18th century.

The social composition of the Saxons is characterized by the following: They provide the oldest urbanized stratum and developed into a strong middle class. The peasantry realized the highest agricultural culture in Transylvania. A working class hardly developed--the artisan stratum is more bourgeois than proletarian. There were relatively few skilled workers. There were a small number of proletarians only among the Swabians.

The other nationality creating the urban population was the Hungarians. Their bourgeois development was less but there was a strong intelligentsia. The composition of the Hungarian peasantry was much more complex than that of the Saxons because in addition to the free peasant Szekelys there were also peasants of serf origin. A good part of the Transylvanian working class was Hungarian. And also the great majority of the skilled worker stratum.

Peasantry made up the bulk of the Romanian population and beginning with the 18th century the clerical intelligentsia were a bourgeois force. Bourgeois strata moved into the larger cities to a significant degree between the two wars. A Romanian working class developed then too, primarily in state enterprises such as the railway shops.

Of the historical factors it is important to mention three. In the first place both the Transylvanian Romanians and the Hungarians not only regard themselves naturally as an organic part of their entire nation but both have played an especially important role in the development of their nations. In the 17th century, when Hungary was under Habsburg and Turkish occupation, Transylvania played the role of the Hungarian state and this was exactly the time when the first forms of bourgeois culture and mother tongue culture began to develop. The movement which served to awaken the Romanians to national self-awareness also started from Transylvania and developed in the 18th century. Thus both nations regard Transylvania as a founding pillar of their national existence.

In the second place, in regard to Romania as a whole, it was just the Transylvanian working class which was most militant between the two world wars; the most violent strikes took place here, struggles leading to open insurrection; and the trade union movement was strongest and best organized here. The Hungarian workers played the crucial role in all this.

In the third place, it is important to note that up to 1918 this part of the country belonged to Hungary and thereafter, between 1940 and 1944, the northern and eastern part were Hungary's, while the southern part was Romania's. In 1945 the Vienna diktat dividing the country was invalidated and the Trianon diktat was reinstated, which took less notice of ethnic boundaries than any other "solution." This means that both nationalities experienced both sides of the reality of national oppression, and did so twice. This could be a source of evil also because it could inspire revenge, anger and repayment. And finally, this disputed nature of the country was used by the great powers to dominate both countries.

Up to 1944 none of the nationalities had experienced either cooperation or tolerance. Similarly, democratic forms of life had not developed either in general or in their relations to one another.

The Beginning: 1945-1952

Between 1945 and 1952 the nationalities policy was modified only as a function of the general political transformation; it had no independent role. The

development of circumstances and aspirations hidden for the time being did, nevertheless, bring unique results within the liquidation of democratism.

Northern Transylvania was slowly absorbed into the Romanian state as a whole and as a result the administrative nationalities composition began to change. The Hungarians were forced back and the role of the Romanians moving into the north Transylvanian cities grew. Still, however, this was a natural process, mixed with tensions. In the political conflict situation characterizing 1946 there was a confluence of national and class power conflicts. The bourgeois reaction, supporting itself here on the Romanians, tried to regain a role and the Hungarian workers opposed this with the greatest determination. (Such, for example, was the clash between workers and students in Kolozsvar [Cluj].) But to the extent that the situation of the government and the system was consolidated these conflicts slowly subsided.

Stalinization had a greater effect on the development of the nationalities policy, especially when the composition of the Communist Party first came on the agenda.

At the time of the liberation the Romanian Communist Party (according to official estimates) had about 1,000 members. The great majority of them were Hungarian Jews. This can be seen in the composition of the supreme leadership too because the leading personalities of the RCP (returning from Moscow) were Anna Pauker and Laszlo Luka. Two Romanians came to the fore out of the movement at home, the intellectual Patrascanu and the worker Gheorghiu-Dej. The latter (understandably) was made first secretary. Thus was created the leading triumvirate (with the two from Moscow). What is more, the number of minority party members increased greatly after the liberation because fewer Romanians joined. This situation was changed by a consistently carried out but formally secret "line." In the first place there was an increased introduction of Romanians into the middle and higher leading organs of the minority regions. And in the Romanian regions the Romanian communists took over the majority of the positions in state administration. This policy made it possible for Gheorghiu-Dej to build up personal support, place his own people into key positions and get control of the apparatus step by step.

A general change affecting nationality relationships was that Romania, like every people's democratic country, increasingly isolated itself and its citizens from the outside world. Making contacts difficult and liquidating the possibilities for travel especially affected the nationalities for it abolished their natural relations with the mother countries. It most severely affected the Transylvanian Hungarians because of all the nationalities the Hungarians had always kept the closest contact with their mother country.

The third change came in 1949 as a result of the Rajk trial in Hungary. This again was a good occasion for Gheorghiu-Dej to strengthen his situation --he arrested his only real rival, Patrascanu. But the Rajk case also provided an opportunity for the first direct attack against nationality relationships. Rajk was of Transylvanian origin and had often visited the land of the

Szekelys. In the course of his summer vacations he had met with every more famous local Hungarian leader. When arrests took place in Romania in the wake of the Rajk trial (one could not yet speak of a real wave of arrests) they arrested virtually every most famous leader of the Hungarian Popular Federation (which constituted a part of the government coalition, strongly supported prime minister Groza and had a large mass base). They thus broke up the strongest and most self aware leading group of this nationalities social organization (which was the only such organization among the Hungarians and could really be regarded as a political party). Stating that the Hungarian Federation represented the Rajk "line" and that tentacles of a "spy band" had been found in it. Thus the attack against the leadership was also an attack against an independent nationality policy.

The purges carried out at the time of the unification of the two workers' parties meant an extension of this policy. Because this also was the occasion for changes in the nationalities composition of the party. It was also a tool for modifying the composition of state administration in the minority regions, and especially for weakening the cultural institutions of the minorities. Thus they "purged" the Bolyai University--from which the guest teachers from Hungary had been eliminated earlier--so that instruction sank to the level of a secondary school.

All this happened within the general Stalinization and the liquidation of democratism. But the unique interrelationships gained their true meaning after the turning of 1952 when they became a new political line.

The Development: 1952-1956

The spring of 1952 brought a fundamental turning in Romanian power relationships and in the policy of the Communist Party. Using his power over the party apparatus, Gheorghiu-Dej forced Anna Pauker and Laszlo Luka out of the leadership and took complete power in his hands. He used the argument before Stalin that there had been no "Rajk trial" in Romania and he exploited the antisemitic and nationalist feelings of Stalin which had then reached their pinnacle. Thus he argued against the Jew Pauker (against whom her being a woman was also an argument) and it is characteristic that the Romanian press, which up to 1952 had written the name of the second secretary as Luca, began to write it as Luka, to suggest his Hungarian origin. At the same time, Groza was removed as prime minister. A number of relatively more tolerant and more democratic men gave up their places to those who believed in a more terroristic policy. The wave of arrests which followed fell on the men of the old leadership, for the first time exposing, if possible, their Jewish origin. Then it spread more widely among the leading strata of the Hungarians. The sharpening terror took on a nationalities flavor.

The first step of the new nationalities policy was to unite the Szekely provinces with a Hungarian majority under the name of the Hungarian Autonomous Territory. This took place within the development of a Soviet type administrative-organizational system for the country. The Autonomous Territory differed in no respect from the other provinces created and it received

no sort of autonomy. Even its statutes were never worked out; the Hungarian and autonomous nature of the territory were mere names. But its significance in the nationalities policy was great, only in a different relationship.

An "event" creating new conditions was announced by Gheorghiu-Dej in January 1953; it was announced that the nationalities question in Romania had been solved. This position has been the "basic law" ever since. It means that beginning at that time it has been forbidden to discuss the situation of the nationalities at all or in accordance with reality; it has been forbidden to formulate any sort of demand. The task has been the struggle against nationalism and a liquidation of the "recalcitrants." Beginning with this time, every demand or requirement or complaint has been an expression of Hungarian nationalism and is dealt with accordingly. The nationalities policy has two sides. Secret directives play an ever more essential role in addition to the public positions and official measures. These contain the real policy and these provide the principles for interpreting the declarations. It has become the custom to inform the organs responsible for execution of the most sensitive directives only verbally. The first act of the new policy and the preparation for the later steps was the dissolution of the Hungarian Popular Federation in 1953. Every political organization was abolished at this time. The dissolution of the Hungarian Popular Federation did not go smoothly. The leadership had to be changed again and those had to be appointed by open intervention who would finally undertake "self" liquidation. The Hungarians--and in a similar way the other nationalities--were deprived of every organization which could defend them. Nationality rights thus became formalities in themselves. Because as a result people, "the people," could relate to the power in every respect only as individuals. And from this time on people had nationality "rights" only as individuals. But by their nature nationality rights are collective rights and otherwise do not exist because a nationality is a form of communal existence. The reduction of these collective rights to an individual form actually means depriving the nationalities of their rights. Together with the general defenselessness, this measure made any sort of defense of nationality illegal. That this is so is also indicated by the fact that the nationality organizations were declared forums of isolation and hotbeds of nationalism. Thus the denial of independent organizational forms was formulated as a principle which later became (applied to other areas) a principle and tool for denationalization.

Finally, the realization of frameworks and conditions was also served by the attempt to break the contacts (already only cultural) of the minorities to their mother countries. The importation of books from Hungary was greatly decreased in 1954. At the same time the free sale of press items from Hungary was abolished and subscriptions were decreased to a minimum. They rejected 80-90 percent of the requests, not only from individuals but also from schools, institutions and libraries. Border quotas were set at a fraction of the import of the preceding period and they have remained in effect since.

Thus the conditions came into being amidst which they could freely develop a nationalities policy which exploited the existence of the Hungarian Autonomous Territory to achieve its more immediate goals. And they call this a framework for existence as a nationality and cite it when realizing outside of the land of the Szekelys actions aimed at eliminating the national character. Oppression is more open everywhere else even though only 33 percent of the Hungarians live in the area of the Hungarian Autonomous Territory. Thus two thirds live in the world of nationalities discrimination. They then directed the Romanization efforts at the cities, especially at the most significant center, Kolozsvar [Cluj].

The liquidation of bilingualism began in these areas. Bilingual signs and notices disappeared and the publication of announcements in two languages was ended. They slowly began to accept only Romanian language documents in offices. People who did not know Hungarian gradually were appointed to positions dealing with the public. The bilingualism of party meetings was ended also and use of the Hungarian language was gradually forbidden at all sorts of conferences, open discussions and in every official communication. It is characteristic that it was at this time that the Hungarian language press was forced to write the names of Hungarian towns in Romanian.

At this time also the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the minorities began to definitely deteriorate. It became ever more difficult to get Hungarian books. The bulk of the Hungarian material at the Kolozsvar [Cluj] University Library, for example, was denied to the public. The lack of Hungarian language technical books became noticeable at this time. The gradual exclusion of Hungarians from scientific institutions began at this time. Material discrimination against the nationalities became characteristic also. The pay for the same work was less at the Bolyai University than at the Romanian Babes University; a librarian at the Romanian university got 580 leu while a librarian at the Hungarian one got 420. In book publishing, citing the number of copies, an author got less for a book written in Hungarian than for one written in Romanian and the fees were smaller on Hungarian newspapers and journals too.

The internal Romanization of the more important administrative institutions began also. A number of institutions were declared national institutions and minorities could hold no significant position in them. This is how they organized the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the state administration belonging to it. This was followed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign trade and then the officer corps of the army was "purged" of minorities. Then the leadership and officials in economic institutions and enterprises were changed--wherever the minorities still had a role. Often individual enterprises were simply dissolved and then, after a short time, organized anew, but without bringing the minorities back. Expertise became secondary and it is understandable that the functioning of the institutions deteriorated. When this happens with the leadership of economic enterprises then it is accompanied by a drop in production and deterioration in quality. Two points of view determine the number and character of minorities remaining. As many can

remain as are needed to preserve the appearance of "equality." And those who remain can never be in positions with decision making responsibility. Those can remain who are willing to do anything and serve anybody. From this time on the selection of nationalities took place according to these points of view. Examples from two different places are characteristic. Of the five court employees in the Szekely Hungarian town of Kezdivasarhely (judges and attorneys) three do not know Hungarian at all. In Kalotaszeg, where 300 Hungarian families and 10 Romanian families live, the majority of both the police and the town officials are Romanian.

Parallel with the attacks started against the intelligentsia began the liquidation of the upper strata of the worker class of minority composition. Shop chiefs, master workers and even skilled workers fell victim, especially in those cities where Romanization was the immediate goal. They do not want to abolish the historically developed social differences, the backwardness of the Romanians by raising them to higher levels but rather by lowering the level to suit the strata fresh from the peasantry with hardly any experience or culture. This is a solution which holds back development and serves only to liquidate the leading strata of the minorities.

From two points of view the method of economic organization offered broad possibilities for this policy. Due to the state ownership of the enterprises the state can freely assign individuals where it wants them and it can set limits--by secret directives--which exclude minorities from entire careers. In the second place the ban on moving to towns became an especially effective tool for the Romanization of various towns. This ban resulted from the fact that the development of the infrastructure did not keep pace with industrialization. And this situation made it possible to exclude the minorities entirely from these towns and to satisfy the needs of industrialization by moving in exclusively Romanians. The targets at first were Kolozsvar [Cluj] and other towns not in the Szekely lands. Hungarians cannot move to these under any circumstances and yet the inflating administration and the construction of new factories requires men. But instead of bringing in the Hungarians or Saxons from the neighboring villages, who often have skilled worker training, they bring in unskilled Romanians from distant regions.

The most obvious form of the Romanization of these towns, and especially of Kolozsvar [Cluj], was the attempt to move the cultural institutions. This started in 1953. First they transferred the only Hungarian literary journal to Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures]. Then they moved the Theater Arts Academy too. There were preparations to move other artistic academies and Hungarian language book publishing. But then resistance became rather violent. There was rather wide-spread protest against the creation of a "cultural ghetto" and the result of this resistance was that there were no further transfers. Contributing to this, of course, was that other measures--with the same ultimate goal--also ran into violent resistance. They wanted to change the historic face of Kolozsvar [Cluj], which was Hungarian. The beginning was to have been the construction of "modern" students' quarters in a partly Gothic part of town. It is characteristic that the local party organs were

inclined to stop construction on the basis of the protests of the populace but they sought a central decision. This produced a protest which went to the highest forums and it was finally decided to stop construction. (Later, of course, they will take the plans out again and thus start the "relaxation" of Kolozsvar [Cluj].)

The fact that a spreading nationalities protest then caused a reversal of official policy is due in part to the fact that at this time, after the death of Stalin, the situation was uncertain in a more general sense. But this retreat did not mean that the nationalities policy had been changed; it meant only that two most obvious attempts had failed. At this same time, virtually in parallel with the mentioned transferrals, other nationalities cultural institutions were simply abolished. At that time they temporarily abandoned the teaching of philosophy and psychology at the Kolozsvar [Cluj] University and they finally abolished teaching in Hungarian at the Agricultural College in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. The story of this casts an interesting light on the methods and the situation. In the spring of 1954 they accused two agronomists of embezzlement. Their defense was that they did not precisely understand their instruction--for language reasons. They were finally acquitted and the case was referred to the central leadership of the party. (In reality the entire case was orchestrated from above.) A Politburo resolution was cited when the Hungarian section was liquidated but one member of the Politburo at that time, Mogyoros, could not recall later the discussion of such a problem. The teaching staff was notified of the decision in the summer of 1955 and the termination letters were signed by the minister himself, allegedly without the knowledge of the city leaders. So everything was done in such a way that protest actions were impossible from the start. At the same time they offered Hungarian courses as a conciliatory measure and promised use of the Hungarian language in the admissions examination. Both remained only promises. The method was more clever and took resistance into account. The entire policy was held back then and in 1955 the attack relaxed and pressure decreased.

In characterizing the oppression of the minorities at that time it is important to note that although it was of a nationalist character it was not part of a general national nationalist policy.

Becoming Universal: 1956-1968

1956 brought modifications in Romania. It did not bring changes in the policy followed thus far but it did in the way the policy was carried out.

Two events had a fundamental effect--the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the uprising in Hungary.

The reaction to the 20th Congress was swift and determined. Gheorghiu-Dej made it clear from the first that if others had reason for self-criticism the Romanian party leadership did not.

The demand for democratization which could be felt in Romanian intellectual circles was quickly disarmed. It was suggested from above to a writer who

in any case had no talent that he should take an open stand at a meeting of the Writers' Federation in the name of public sentiment. He was then quickly expelled from the Writers Federation and from the party. They thus made it clear that there would be no democratization. The practice of having some distance from the Soviet Union, based on the principle of mutual equality among countries, began to be outlined at that time. At first this independence was aimed at avoiding destalinization; from the beginning it was based on Stalinist methods and it has not lost this meaning and content to the present day. In a similar way a careful and relative approach to China began then also, when the Chinese CP rejected Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin.

The lessons drawn from the Hungarian uprising joined to this also. The party leadership saw that it could be very dangerous without internal support and they took into consideration the dormant antisovietism which could lead to an explosion. When they surveyed the strength of national feeling they linked it with the fact that the external, Soviet, support was small for them in the first place and dangerous in the second place, because of destalinization. They drew the conclusion from all this that their policy must be based on a national-nationalist line; thus they could ensure an internal power base and so could maintain their own power and the Stalinist relationships which were identical with it.

Thus the nationalist line which had meant national oppression earlier now was transformed into a general national-nationalist policy. The reality of this internally was in oppression of the Hungarians and Jews--and gradually the other minorities--and "outwardly" gave rise to antisovietism. The two together were an apology for Romanian national greatness and independence.

This turning had an immediate Hungarian application. There was more than a little unrest in Transylvania at the time of the Hungarian uprising and this spread to the Romanians too by means of the Hungarian population. It is characteristic of the dangerousness of the situation that the Romanian army was put on alert. It is understandable that the initiation of the direct general form of the national line meant a powerful sharpening of the anti-Hungarian policy. And this was announced officially and at the highest level; in January 1957, in a speech at Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures], Gheorghiu-Dej accused all the Transylvanian Hungarians of the sin of revisionism and counterrevolution.

This corresponded to the first concrete measure, stepping up the terror. In the Hungarian towns and everywhere where there had been commotion there were arrests and trials were organized--with well selected "criminals." They picked out people who were sufficiently well known so that the sentences would serve as a warning but not so famous as to arouse general protest. They were condemned for crimes with which the majority of the intelligentsia, indeed anyone, could be charged. The terror atmosphere thus created produced the conditions for the unfolding of the crudest national oppression. Especially since at the same time the Romanian nationalist spirit was being strongly fanned, as an official policy. By 1959 the nationalist mood had

ripened and become general in those places where it was important to carry out direct measures. It was sharpest in Kolozsvar [Cluj], as a background to the unification of the Romanian and Hungarian universities. In a characteristic fashion the justification for the unification was that the existence of a separate Hungarian university was a hotbed of separatism, an obstacle in the path of brotherhood, and thus served Hungarian nationalism. Citing this fact a series of (Romanian) nationalist meetings was begun in the city and they began working individually on the leading personalities of the Hungarian university. Four Hungarian university teachers, including Laszlo Szabedi, the pro-rector and a famous poet, committed suicide as a protest against this and against the unification form of suffocation.

It is characteristic of the atmosphere of spiritual-political terror which developed that the stronger intellectuals resisting the measure at the unification rally were summoned to the open podium on the basis of snatches of conversation voiced in the halls during a recess and Ceausescu, who was "conducting" the rally, regarded a series of personal humiliations as a persuasive method.

It is also characteristic that the unification document, which contained a listing of the existing faculties, was not made public in any way lest it be referred to later. After the unification they began by various methods to limit and in part to do away with instruction in the Hungarian language.

The attack against Hungarian language instruction only began with the unification of the Kolozsvar [Cluj] universities. The second phase involved the secondary schools. The method was the same. The Romanian and Hungarian schools were united into a single school section. This made it possible to reduce the Hungarian sections to a maximum degree later. Working on the Hungarian parents was an especially general method, to get them to send their children for Romanian language instruction. In addition to pressure within the party, official and place of work pressure was general as were various administrative obstacles and forms of pressure. And all this was linked to the idea that sticking to instruction in the mother tongue was nationalism, "arrogance," a sign of lack of citizen loyalty, looking down on the state language, etc. Changes within the schools were ensured by having a nationalistic Romanian as principal everywhere while only servile Hungarian teachers were appointed as deputies.

At the same time all technical training using the Hungarian language was abolished and the apprentice schools were eliminated.

Finally, as a result of a reorganization of the general or elementary schools the Hungarian language teaching at that level was cut in half.

The meaning of these measures was that they would prevent the renewal of the minority intelligentsia and of minority skilled worker and leading worker strata. This was in part to deprive the minorities of their leading strata and in part to deprive the working class of its more militant elements and to

ensure that the newly recruited workers would get no aid in developing class awareness. The policy of amalgamation was carried further. Culture houses and theaters were combined and the former Hungarian institution here also became only a section. This not only decreased the possibilities (number of performances, etc.) by half it also put these Hungarian cultural forums under full control lest any of them be able to provide some sort of protection and by these measures it was possible to ensure the realization of the official Romanian nationalist spirit. The choruses of village culture houses were combined so that the bulk of their programs would naturally be Romanian, even if they operated in Hungarian areas. This also made it possible to organize Romanian sections where they had not existed before in purely Hungarian inhabited areas. In this way these cultural institutions also could be put in the service of Romanization and thus affect the Szekely lands also.

To the extent that the Romanization of Koloszar [Cluj] and one of the towns outside of the Szekely lands in general progressed and the Hungarian character of these towns was broken the oppressive policy was extended toward the Szekely lands. The next step became the Romanization of the Szekely lands. The first target was Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures] and they started settling Romanians here. Sepiszek in the southern part of the Szekely lands was next. The 1968 reorganization of administrative territorial units gave form to this policy. The provinces were reorganized also and the provinces of Maros and Kovaszna were separated from the earlier autonomous territory so that with appropriate additions they would become regions with mixed populations, the latter with a Romanian majority (252,000 Hungarians and 280,000 Romanians). Thus the dismantling began on two sides. The heart of the Szekely lands (the provinces of Csik and Udvarhely) were united into a single province, Hargita. The tactic was the same as it was when the Hungarian Territory was created. Only now an even smaller fragment of the Autonomous Territory remains relatively Hungarian. (The Hungarian population of the area corresponding to the Hungarian Autonomous Territory was 643,000 in 1967; the Hungarian population of Hargita province was only 25,000. It is characteristic that only one of the province party secretaries of Maros province is Hungarian; the rest, including the first secretary, are Romanian.) The official position was announced accordingly: There are no areas in Romania inhabited by minorities, there are only areas with mixed populations. Actually this is not true but it precisely formulates the general goal of the nationalities policy.

Industrialization was again an important tool in this Romanization policy. Earlier the method had been to permit only Romanian workers into the industry of the towns outside the Szekely lands and thus to increase the Romanian population above the number of Hungarians. Now Romanians were being moved into Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures].

The Romanization policy in this period had two other aspects which it is important to mention. One was that mixed marriages were encouraged generally and officially for the purpose of assimilation. A strong propaganda campaign was started and those holding back from mixed marriages were accused, with

the usual methods, of nationalism. Of course this is directed clearly against protection of the Hungarians. There has been no struggle against other nationalisms for a long time, only against minority nationalisms. This step strengthening national terror merits special attention because by means of it the terror now enters private life as well.

The other thing which must be mentioned is connected with book publishing policy. Here there has been a more refined manipulation. Translations of Romanian works have been made the primary task of Hungarian book publishing in Romania (in part and in regard to its essence secretly). Naturally this is at the expense of Hungarian literature for the publishers have limited funds at their disposal. The goal of this policy is to transform the spiritual-cultural behavior of the minorities so as to separate them from the culture of their own nations and plant the spirit of Romanian culture in their awareness in its place and thus modify their ways of thinking. The complete exclusion of press and publications from Hungary thus gets new meaning. In the final analysis denationalization breaks into the most internal world of the individual with these methods. In addition the just demand for mutual acquaintance is made into a tool of spiritual subjugation.

Thus by 1968 the system of national oppression and cultural suffocation had developed with all its weapons. And it had been built up in a form which a bourgeois system could not even approach. All of this was directed at limiting the nationalities to their mother tongue alone; they had been deprived of all else, of all content. And this goal was formulated officially. With a unique usage of words they spoke of "Hungarian language Romanian writers," something they have tried to realize many times thus far without success, to describe the minority writers. This also is a term which is not real but it formulates a very real goal.

Consolidation: Since 1968

1968 again brought modifications but only in the way in which the nationalist line was realized.

The preceding period, as is well known, was characterized by a separation from the Soviet Union, by the development of a relative independence. This was a time of a strong unfolding of national self-awareness, under the heading of the ideals of independence, self-reliance and swift economic development. These ideals feed the idea of national greatness and provide that emotional fullness with which the majority nation can be mobilized. Under this heading the antisovietism, initially more hidden, becomes official and open. More striking positions taken from time to time keep it alive and kindle it anew again and again. But it always remains within certain limits so as not to violate the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union. In essence it remains within the frameworks of press debates.

In 1968, however, when Romania kept out of the action against Czechoslovakia and finally, in August, took a position against it with a sharp statement, a

new situation was created to a certain extent. It certainly is a fact that Ceausescu thus created broad national agreement and won personal respect for himself. At the same time, however, these steps made the situation of the Romanian party leadership delicate if not outright dangerous. There was a danger that they had overstepped the limits acceptable to the Soviet Union and the answer to an open stand could have been intervention. At the same time the fact that the fears of intervention proved groundless encouraged the leadership too. A consequent and broader unfolding of the earlier policy followed from this duality but in a much more circumspect manner. The "more independent" gestures were always followed and counterbalanced by appropriate gestures and manifestations of loyalty. To a greater degree than before they were careful not to really violate the interests of the Soviet Union or seriously confuse its policies. In the final analysis the constant method of tension-relaxation was coupled to increasing domestic policy caution.

Another reason why they became more careful in regard to internal relationships was that in the spring of 1968 the national oppression (despite all the deprivations and defenselessness, or because of them) finally prompted the Hungarian minority to resistance. Passive resistance began to go over to active forms and real tension could be felt in various parts of Transylvania. There were spontaneous demonstrations in several Transylvanian towns but the dissatisfaction spoke openly on other occasions too. A number of demands were formulated at various forums and on various occasions. Flags appeared in the Szekely land villages.

Suggestive meanings appeared in speeches. The situation began to get really dangerous; and in the given international situation this was especially impermissible for the state leadership. A pretext for intervention could grow out of this. The nationalities policy became more cautious for this reason and in order to ensure internal support. They did not give up their previous methods but the liquidation of the minorities was transformed from an immediate goal to a long range goal. The string was not tightened further and here also they switched to the policy of tension-relaxation. They made concessions, then withdrew them, then granted them again. This became characteristic. This was done in such a way as to serve to maintain the situation of oppression and denial of rights which had developed, even to extend it at a slower pace. At the same time they were sensitive to various pressures and more determined actions, to internal and foreign pressure, they answer these with concessions, of course always in secondary matters and in such a way as not to change the fundamental relationships.

In such circumstances, under internal pressure, they created Hungarian technical schools which they then again abolished, and then again created, always careful about what sort of work they were opening some possibilities in. And careful also that these schools operate in an atmosphere of uncertainty, thus alarming the parents so that they will not send their children to such schools.

A series of events from 1976 is characteristic of the effectiveness of external pressures. In the spring of that year the American Hungarians organized a

protest in New York and tried to bring pressure to bear on American senators too. Somewhat before the United States would have to renew the "most favored nation" clause. The economic interests of the Romanian leadership were tied to this renewal and it was important for prestige reasons too. So the Romanian leadership made concessions in the nationalities policy. They quickly appointed Hungarian rectors to head a few colleges. Since this approximately coincided with a press debate in the course of which relations with the Soviet Union sharpened on the pretext of Bessarabia and since the wildly nationalist and Hungariophobe rector of the Kolozsvár [Cluj] university exposed himself in this they used the opportunity to appoint another in his place. If, however, the rector had been a moderate man then one of the weakest Hungarian teachers would have been made pro-rector.

In addition to the concessions and in the service of maintaining the fundamental policy a number of formal measures were taken which apparently bore witness to the existence of rights but which had no practical significance. But they could be cited. Institutions are created in which unrest can be channeled by means of apparent activity. Such is the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality (and similar ones for the other nationalities). In the first place these are only of a consultative character, they have no power and have no say in anything. These councils were authorized in 1971 to make public recommendations. The Hungarian council took up such things as bilingual notices, teaching certain subjects in the mother tongue, providing textbooks (on history, geography, etc.) and so forth. Not one of them was realized.

Every actual measure unambiguously proves that all this in essence only serves to hide the policy being carried out, serves only manipulation.

Then the central nucleus of the Székely lands came under fire, in the usual manner, with the aid of industrialization. Earlier there was hardly any industrial development here; now they are turning to it. The machine industry is appearing in the provinces of Harghita and Kovászna in addition to the wood working and textile industry, but with the immigration of Romanians.

Changing the face of the cities continues too. More buildings are being built in Kolozsvár [Cluj] which destroys the historical architectural combination. In Kovászna province they have resumed construction of the Sepsiszentgyörgy Romanian cathedral, abandoned in 1940, regarding it as a local national task, supporting it with public contributions. It is characteristic that the editor-in-chief of the local party paper gave the first contribution, 2,000 leu, in the name of militant atheism.

Romanization strengthened especially in Kovászna provinces in 1972-1973, with the aid of the Greek Orthodox Church. Romanian priests are urging the Székelys with Roman names to convert to the Greek Orthodox religion. It is characteristic of this campaign also that the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church have prepared a comparison between the number of believers in the province in 1938 and 1972. Citing this they have raised the charge of forced Hungarianization.

(In reality the difference is accounted for by the state officials who departed in 1940.) On this basis a state (not church) brigade was formed to collect data. This was an occasion to instruct everyone in a province with 88 percent Hungarian inhabitants that only Romanian can be spoken in offices; the article of the constitution concerning the right to use one's language applies only to private life. They are mobilizing and blackmailing the principals of Romanian schools saying that they are guilty of official neglect if Hungarian families do not enroll their children in the Romanian schools.

One of the unique measures is the innovation that has virtually liquidated the links of the minorities with the mother country. The earlier method was to decrease foreign travel by the Romanian minorities by every means. A Romanian citizen has the right to travel abroad only every 2 years, whether to the West or to a neighboring country. Granting or rejecting requests within this "right" is realized in such a way that citizens never know on what basis or when they will receive or not receive their passports. A frequent method is that they simply cannot submit passport requests because request forms are not issued, etc. But this was not the "perfect" solution since contacts were lively nevertheless because Germans could enter the country easily and entry from neighboring Hungary was completely free. Primarily in order to put a stop to the latter they have introduced a measure according to which foreigners can only live in hotels or at most with closest relatives and not with acquaintances or more distant relatives. The regulation is being more strictly enforced that every citizen, if he talks with a foreigner, must report on the content of this to state forums.

The police are not trying to punish the offenders--they do not want tension--but they are paying much attention to prevention and to honoring the regulation. By citing this they are taking care that foreigners, those from Hungary, do not visit at all such delicate places as, for example, the part of Moldavia inhabited by Hungarians. One researcher of Romanian folk music who did rich work on the Hungarian traditions in just this area was put in prison on a charge of homosexuality!

It is characteristic of the hidden system of concessions that every general measure is carried out to the detriment of the minorities. Thus, citing a paper shortage, they decreased the size of newspapers in 1974. Later the Romanian papers got some back but the minorities, the Hungarians, got nothing. At the same time some of the personnel of these papers were fired. The criterion was the degree of loyalty. Thus control was strengthened too. In order to increase control the censors have introduced a new unique type of intellectual terror. The earlier method was clear; it was defined what one could write about and what one could not write about, what position one could take and what position one could not take, what words could not be written down. Now, however, without any explanation they throw various articles out of the papers. The editors never know why. So they do not know what is permitted and what is not. They are in a state of constant uncertainty and cannot even think of any clever ploy. The results of all this is that in

1975 everything interesting and all good writing disappeared from the minority papers. The minority papers are beginning to lose their substantive function; their existence is becoming increasingly formal. Only book publishing can offer some compensation.

The significant decrease in the touring possibilities of the minority theaters also illustrates the practice of cultural suffocation. Here also the basis for the worsening in recent years has been a more general measure, the thrift policy. The theaters can go on tour only if it is profitable. If transportation, lodging and wages are to be covered they need 4-6 full houses. If this cannot be expected they cannot go. Thus the more isolated Hungarian areas, the outlying settlements and such towns as Medgyes and Segesvar are completely deprived of Hungarian theater culture. It is natural that the application of a general measure should always be modified according to nationality peculiarities. This happens in this case too but, as always in Romania, not to the benefit of the minority but rather to its detriment. Thus, in 1975 they took the truck away from the Kolozsvár [Cluj] theater, they were forced to rent one, the gasoline ration was cut--and at the same time the neighboring Torda theater (Romanian) had its gasoline quota increased by the amount cut from the Hungarian theater.

To round out the picture it is worth while to bring up data illustrating a continuing situation. In 1973 the Hungarian newspaper of Harghita province indicated a general fact with one concrete example, the library situation in the village of Gyergyó. The most recent technical book on agriculture here dated from 1953 and they requested technical books in vain, they did not get them. To show that this is not a unique case here are some more data from the 1970's: In Hungarian populated Torockó (where 133 of the 1,933 inhabitants are Romanian) 3,228 of the 7,531 volumes in the library were Hungarian. In regard to the number of libraries the province of Kovaszna is next to last in the country (with 93 libraries) and in regard to number of volumes it is in last place.

In regard to the nationalities policy as a whole the liquidation of the various nationalities began to take the form of a determined solution in this period.

In regard to the Germans this was the "permission" of emigration. A quiet strengthening of oppression guaranteed a demand for and a willingness to emigrate. This is being used for economic deals with the Federal Republic of Germany; they permit the emigration of the Saxon and Swabian population depending on material aid. In reality this is blackmail, trying to extract material profit from the emigration of the nationalities. The same policy is used for Jews. International manipulation plays a role in this too, relations with Israel and the Soviet Union. But in this case too the essence of the policy is the emigration of the Jews, freeing the country of Jews, in a way which brings in money as a "head" fee. This policy has a cruder precedent; Hitler's Germany also let out Jews only if it got considerable money in return.

They tried this method with the Hungarians too. They would have been glad to permit emigration to Hungary (especially of intellectuals). But the demand for emigration increased among the minority as a result of the oppression; Hungary refused to accept them and thus this solution of the nationalities question became impossible in regard to the Hungarians. The long range policy of assimilation remained in the form that pressure is always kept at the level which aids submission but does not arouse resistance.

Several Characteristics of the School Policy

In bourgeois societies national oppression always means and results in a more or less open struggle. The minority has a possibility of defending itself--even if a limited possibility. Not only do political and social organizations help in this but a significant role is played by an independent school network. This guarantees the renewal of its leading strata and the survival and development of the nationality culture. But in the people's democracies even the individual is, in general, defenseless against the state and so the nationality too is increasingly defenseless against the power. The school system is completely state controlled and becomes a tool not of defense but of oppression. This becomes clear if we examine the situation of the more important types of schools.

We must note that the schools are now more general tools of acculturation than they were in bourgeois society. The secondary schools have lost their special character. Ten years of school are obligatory in Romania, which leaves only 2 years to graduation. As a result the role of the universities has increased in forming the intellectual stratum. This fact must be taken into consideration in regard to the universities and also the fact that Romanian students, especially the minorities, simply cannot complete their studies abroad. This also means a deviation from the possibilities in a bourgeois society. Only local university instruction is open to them. Finally, one must evaluate not only the actual numerical ratios but also the trend of development and that for which the school system, including the university, is preparing the young intellectuals.

Hungarian language college instruction is given in only three places in all of Romania: in Kolozsvár [Cluj] (in two faculties making up a section of the Cluj university), in Szeben and in Marosvásárhely [Targu Mures] (at the medical university). (There are also two art academies in Kolozsvár [Cluj], for music and graphic arts, and a theater arts academy in Marosvásárhely [Targu Mures].) A 1971 party resolution lists the faculties and courses in which Hungarian language instruction is possible--11 faculties and 18 subjects. The latter, in addition to philosophical subjects, are history, economics, psychology, three mathematical subjects, chemistry, elementary physics, botany, zoology, geography and geology. Instruction is given in the Hungarian language nowhere else, in no sort of other college. This means that instruction in the mother tongue is open only to those preparing for medical or teaching careers.

The situation at the Kolozsvar [Cluj] university is as follows: at the beginning of the year 1976-1977 there were 1,206 first year students out of about 6,000 and 269 of the first year students were Hungarian.

And not all these Hungarians hear lectures in Hungarian. Eight percent of the students attend Hungarian lectures, so the majority of the Hungarians take courses only in Romanian. The composition of the teaching staff is as follows: out of about 900 teachers about 210 are Hungarian, but many of these lecture in Romanian.

In regard to the language of instruction one third of the hours in the philosophy faculty can be taken in Hungarian. To take one natural science faculty as an example, six out of 32 subjects in general chemistry can be taken in Hungarian--five ideological subjects and organic chemistry. (The situation is similar in all the non-humanities; the great majority of the technical subjects are given only in Romanian, even in those areas where there is any Hungarian language instruction at all.) In 1974, of the 65 students in general chemistry eight attended lectures in the Hungarian language.

It is worth while to take the chemistry faculty as an example because its history is characteristic. At the time of the unification there was general chemistry instruction in the Hungarian language at the Bolyai University. At Babes University there was physical chemistry in addition to general. Up to 1962 general chemistry was taught in both languages. Then they abolished the faculty and introduced analytical chemistry along with physical chemistry, only in Romanian. In 1964 they reinstated general chemistry and introduced a few Hungarian language courses in physical chemistry too. This was again abolished in the 1970's, substituting the chemistry of construction materials. There were Hungarian students for this but no instruction in the Hungarian language. The method here also is the creation of uncertainty, to break down resistance and finally make it possible to abolish Hungarian instruction, the condition for which being that Hungarian students do not request classes in Hungarian.

Something else is characteristic about general chemistry at Kolozsvar [Cluj] too. According to the system which had developed earlier the 4 year teacher training instruction was followed by a fifth year which prepared students for scientific work. Only a fraction of those finishing the fourth year were admitted to this while the majority got teaching diplomas. Well, in 1976 there were totals of 84 Romanian and 38 Hungarian students in general chemistry but not a single Hungarian got in for the fifth year. From which one can again see that characteristic of the university system that limits Hungarian students to teaching careers (and thus does not permit them to rise above the level of the middle intelligentsia).

In regard to the character of the effects arising in the course of university instruction it can be established that the purpose is to woo the students away from the Hungarian cultural world and gradually bring them into the Romanian.

This too is a step on the path of Romanization and serves to degrade the minority intelligentsia.

At the university the "norms" of the teachers are calculated by multiplying the number of courses by the number of students attending them. If we thus calculate the "norm" of instruction being given in Hungarian as a whole and compare it to the "norm" of instruction given as a whole in the past at the Bolyai University then we find that Hungarian language university instruction at present comes to 5-10 percent of that of 20 years ago. To such an extent has Hungarian language university instruction been reduced in Kolozsvar [Cluj]!

The assignment of those graduating from university and college plays an important role and supplements the university policy. The state assigns them in a compulsory way so that the Hungarians--primarily those who attended Hungarian lectures and thus showed their adherence to their nationality--go to the more disadvantageous positions. A good number of the Hungarian graduates are assigned to Romanian areas and if they do get to Hungarian areas then they are rarely assigned to secondary schools but mostly to general schools as teachers. Accordingly, the mathematics, chemistry and physics teachers graduating from the Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures] Pedagogical College in 1971-1972 and the pharmacists graduating from the medical university were assigned to Romania beyond the Carpathians and not to Transylvania. As a result of this practice there is a large number of Hungarian doctors in the villages of Moldavia; according to some data 50 percent of the doctors in the villages of the two provinces are Hungarian. At the same time the number of Romanian doctors in the Hungarian regions of Transylvania is large. Such assignment of the graduates clearly shows the purpose of the entire policy.

At the same time, however, that it is called upon to determine the directions of future careers the system of university instruction must also have an influence on the direction of studies prior to the university. The Romanian nature of the technical subjects, the conditions for admission (under circumstances that only a fraction of the applicants are admitted), have the result that those graduating from Romanian secondary schools have many times better chances and get into the university more easily than those graduating from Hungarian schools. Thus also the university must serve as a deterrent, to deter Hungarians from sticking to Hungarian language instruction at the secondary level and to encourage them to go to Romanian schools.

To characterize the situation of the secondary schools it is worth while briefly reviewing the history of a few schools, using as examples some representing the average and some from various regions.

Banfihunyad is the center of the Hungarian populated Kalotaszeg near Kolozsvar [Cluj]. There was a Hungarian elementary school here before the war. In 1940-1944 there was a Hungarian gimnazium and an agricultural technical school.

After the school reform of 1948 there was a seven grade general school in the town with Romanian and Hungarian sections. In the course of the following years the Romanian section was expanded to 11 grades while the Hungarian remained at 7 grades until 1955. Then (the date was not a matter of chance) the Hungarian section also was transformed into a 12 grade liceum offering a secondary school diploma. There was a survey of school needs in 1976 and those in the theoretical liceum (grades 9-12) were divided into six first classes according to the following division: three Romanian and one Hungarian theoretical classes and one each, Romanian and Hungarian, in the technical liceum. Enrollment showed that there were Romanian students for only two theoretical and one technical class while the Hungarian students needed one more class than planned, in the theoretical liceum. (So the real distribution would be 2:2 and 1:1.) But there was no mention of reorganization; instead the number in the Hungarian classes was increased from 36 to 40, admitting the children of the most stubborn parents while the other parents were pressured to enroll their children in the Romanian language classes.

Szlovata is a little town in the Szekely lands. There is a theoretical liceum here which had two parallel Hungarian language classes until 1970. Between 1970 and 1974 the number of students in the first year of the second class decreased to below 36. This class was abolished and a Romanian language class was started in its place. This has 20 students, 2 rural Romanians and 18 Szlovata Hungarians who had enrolled for the second Hungarian class. Thus the Szlovata liceum was transformed into a two section school and the "surplus" Hungarian language teachers were assigned to Romanian schools in other regions to replace the Romanian language teachers who were sent to Szlovata.

We must mention here the law according to which a class can be started in a liceum only if there are 36 applicants. The same law prescribes the starting of Romanian classes everywhere possible and this is the basis on which Romanian classes can be started even with enrollment smaller than the legal limit.

More general data from outside Transylvania: In the Csango regions of Moldavia there were 72 Hungarian schools as of 1958. Today there is not one.

Examining the situation by region let us take first the province of Kolozs [Cluj] with the most significant Hungarian city, Kolozsvar [Cluj]. In 1966 there were 164,000 Hungarians in the province, 26.1 percent of the population. At the time of the liberation there were 11 Hungarian gimnaziums in the city of Kolozsvar [Cluj] of which 7 were main gimnaziums (i.e., offering secondary diplomas after 8 years). There were 3 more gimnaziums in the province for a total of 14. According to the present school system the liceums offer secondary school diplomas but since the general school obligation is 10 years and diplomas are awarded for 12 years the significance of this has changed. So a realistic comparison can be made between the present liceums and the old gimnaziums, at least more realistic than evaluating the situation on the basis of graduating classes or comparing the main gimnaziums to the liceums. On the other hand in the present school system the theoretical liceum corresponds

to the old gimnazium. We must subtract the technical gimnaziums offering diplomas from the comparison; they will be discussed separately. At the beginning of the school year in 1973 there were 9 theoretical gimnaziums (or classes) in the city of Kolozsvár [Cluj] teaching in the Hungarian language. There were 5 more in the province for a total of 14. At the beginning of the school year in 1976 the picture was as follows:

There were 7 theoretical liceum classes in the city in the Hungarian language and 4 more in the province for a total of 11. Comparing the present situation with that after the liberation clearly shows the deterioration. This is even more palpable if we consider that in the meantime the school system was transformed and received a more general role instead of the narrower training of intellectuals. This change can be seen clearly in the development of Romanian language theoretical liceums. At the beginning of the school year in 1973 there were 32 Romanian language theoretical liceums in the city of Kolozsvár [Cluj] and 29 in the province for a total of 61. In 1976, in the province as a whole, the theoretical liceums started with 74 Romanian language classes. So while Hungarian language instruction was decreasing the development of Romanian language instruction was continuing and at a great pace. While Hungarian language instruction was below the level created by bourgeois society the Romanian language instruction was many times what had existed in bourgeois Romania. If we take the number of students in starting classes as 36 and calculate a ratio on this basis then it is seen that students studying in the Hungarian language come to about 12-13 percent of the total. This is less than half of the population ratio in the province.

The school system of Marosvásárhely [Targu Mures] shows a very similar picture. Here there were 3 main gimnaziums after the liberation; today there are 3 liceums which have Hungarian classes. In 1947 there were also 3 gimnaziums in the city and 2 in the province of Maros. The present ratios are as follows: There are 12 Romanian liceum classes in Marosvásárhely [Targu Mures] and 8 Hungarian. If we take every school into consideration (thus the general schools representing theoretical schools too) then there are 8 Hungarian language schools as compared to 36 Romanian language ones. Of the 3 liceums in which there are parallel Romanian and Hungarian classes the principal of one is Hungarian and the principals of two are Romanians. The direction of development is well indicated by the fact that while the number of Hungarian teachers and instructors has decreased in the past 10 years the number of Romanians has increased from 110 to over 1,000. There are two colleges in the town. Up to 1976 the Theater Arts Academy operated only in Hungarian but then Romanian language instruction was started too. The other college is the Medical Pharmacist College. Originally the latter was purely Hungarian language, later it became bilingual, Hungarian instruction was eliminated at the beginning of the 1960's and since 1968 the Romanian and Hungarian languages have been used in parallel again.

To survey the situation of the technical schools it must be known that these liceums have two stages. The first 2 years are reckoned as the first stage and are part of the 10 year compulsory education. Students at the technical

liceums get skilled worker certificates after 2 years. So they are skilled worker training schools. The second stage, offering a secondary school diploma after the third and fourth years, offers the legal condition for further study. The graduates of these can take their place in the upper stratum of the worker class as "highly trained skilled workers." If they are to become master workmen or shop leaders they need further courses and examinations. So one can say that the technical liceums serve to develop and renew the higher, better trained and more cultured stratum of the worker class. Since 1966 this type of school has been developed to the greatest degree in Romania.

The situation of the technical liceums in the city of Kolozsvar [Cluj] and province of Kolozs [Cluj] is as follows: At the beginning of the 1973-1974 school year 174 Romanian technical liceum first classes started in the province. There were two in the Hungarian language, one for the textile and ready-made clothing industry and one for the construction industry. The Romanian language classes included teaching, health affairs, agriculture, two types of machine industry (with 29 parallel classes), three types of electrotechnical (with 29 parallel classes), four types of chemical industry (26 classes), informatics, etc. The differentiation can be clearly seen; Hungarian instruction takes place only in the trades at the low end of the industrial "value scale" and there is only Romanian language instruction in the "more elite" trades. At the beginning of the school year in 1976 the situation was as follows: Romanian language technical training in the province took place in the technical liceums with 159 industrial, 13 agricultural and 20 economic-pedagogic classes, a total of 192 classes. Nine classes started in the Hungarian language, one agricultural and 8 industrial. The character of the trades was better because in addition to those existing earlier there were also classes in mechanics, electrotechnology and metallurgy. It is interesting to compare the ratios of technical liceums and theoretical liceums: The ratio for Romanian language classes is 192 to 72 to the benefit of the technical liceums; that for the Hungarian language classes is 9 to 11 to the benefit of the theoretical. If we examine the trade schools operating in the country as a whole then we find that Hungarian language instruction is largely in the textile and construction industry trades so the situation which existed in Kolozsvar [Cluj] in 1973 continues unchanged in the country as a whole in 1976.

An instructive picture is obtained if we examine the Hungarian language instruction system of the various provinces as a whole, especially if we compare the percentage of Hungarians living in the provinces with the ratio of Hungarian students getting a place in Hungarian language instruction. In Kolozs [Cluj] province, where 26.1 percent of the population is Hungarian, only 7.2 percent of the students in liceum instruction as a whole are Hungarian; in Kovaszna province, where 74.4 percent of the population is Hungarian, only 68.6 percent of the students study in Hungarian. In Maros province 44.5 percent of the population is Hungarian but those studying in Hungarian come to only 26.6 percent. These percentages are comparable because even though the natural increase of the Romanian population is greater than that of the

Hungarians a considerable percent of the Romanian inhabitants have moved in in the past 2 decades and so hardly have school age children. We think these two facts counterbalance one another in regard to ratios. And if we compare the percentages then we must conclude that 10 percent of the Hungarian students in Kovaszna province, and more than 40 percent of them in Maros province must go to Romanian schools. According to these figures only one fourth of the Hungarian students in Kolozs [Cluj] province go to Hungarian schools. Only two thirds in Bihar province. One must also consider that 8.7 percent of the Hungarians live in Kovaszna province, 15.2 percent in Maros province, 10.9 percent in Kolozs [Cluj] province and 12 percent in Bihar province. These data are not interesting from the viewpoint of reliability or precision but they are interesting because they support a comparison with official statistics and justify a correction of them.

According to presumably reliable data 225,618 Hungarian students in the entire country went to Hungarian language schools in 1969-1970. Of these, 168,218 were in general schools, 21,568 were in theoretical liceums, 625 were in teacher training, 1,425 were in technical liceums and 6,308 were in industrial schools. (Thus, in general schools and liceums combined, there were 189,786). In school year 1970-1971, 157,000 students in 1,337 general schools and 21,106 students in 91 general liceums were studying in Hungarian (a total of about 179,000). In 1973 the number of general school and liceum students was about 190,000. Let us look at the situation at the beginning of the year 1976-1977 (thus on the basis of the improvement which resulted from the pressure of the American Hungarians). According to official data there were places for 4,666 students in the third class of liceums offering secondary school diplomas. At the end of the preceding year about 8,300 had finished the second class! The distribution of schools in the country as a whole was as follows: Hungarian instruction started with 5 theoretical, 48 industrial, 11 agricultural-industrial, 1 economic, 2 pedagogical, 4 physical education and 3 artistic liceum classes for a total of 128. Let us compare this to the situation in 1947. At that time there were 186 Hungarian secondary schools in Romania of which 147 were theoretical secondary schools, 17 were teacher training schools, 14 were commercial secondary schools and 8 were industrial. (Of the 147 theoretical schools 38 were main gimnaziums.) So the "development" is obvious. But let us compare this with the corresponding data for Romanian instruction, i.e with national data. In the year 1948-1949 there were 217 general liceums in the country. In 1968-1969 there were 568 to which one must add 53 art schools, 415 trade schools and 191 technical schools for a total of 1,226.

According to official statistics 74.7 percent of the Hungarian students go to Hungarian schools while 20.3 percent go to Romanian schools. But on the basis of the province ratios this must be regarded as distorted data and the real situation is that the ratio of those going to Romanian schools must be between 30 and 50 percent. It is worth while mentioning another official figure. According to it 24 percent of the Hungarian students finishing the 8th grade study further while the national average is 19 percent. And they use this to call attention to Hungarian language instruction and as propaganda

for the nationalities policy. But these data hide the fact that a considerable percent of the Hungarian students go to Romanian schools so the statistics are called on to hide the real oppression. And the ratio itself must be regarded as false because the percentage of Hungarians studying further in Romanian liceums can be put at 7-8 percent. If we combine the two figures then the ratio of those studying further will be somewhere near the national average.

When speaking of the schools one should not ignore the situation existing within the Hungarian schools either. This would require a separate study and we can make here only a few observations indicating the situation.

In the first place some of the subjects in the Hungarian language schools are taught in Romanian. In general and in the first place the Romanian language is an obligatory subject. This can be considered just but it would be so truly only if it were realized on a basis of mutuality, if the appropriate minority language were taught in the Romanian schools in the minority regions. This is not done. It is worth noting that the Romanian language was taught as a compulsory subject in the Hungarian secondary schools of Transylvania at the time of Horthy's reign.

In the second place, and this is true of even the lowest grades, the so-called Pioneer programs must be carried out jointly wherever there are parallel Romanian and Hungarian classes. And at these all the work including the self cultivation work must be done in Romanian. It should also be known that practically every student in the lower grades is a Pioneer.

In addition to these direct methods of Romanization the study material itself serves a spiritual transformation in very many respects, because of what is included and because of what is omitted. Because the Hungarian students are not taught about the past of our people or the true history of Transylvania, but are given only a distorted picture which describes a false world, in accordance with the spirit of Romanian nationalism. This is planted in them by means of the most varied subjects in an attempt to separate them from their natural historical and cultural world. One characteristic example might be given to illustrate this, something that happened in Szarazajta in the province of Kovaszna. One school here was accused of sabotaging patriotic education because one of its teachers, when asked what came into his mind about the fall of 1944, did not answer "That was when our homeland was liberated," but rather that that was when the invading Romanian bourgeois troops (members of the Maniu Guard) beheaded his grandfather in the main square of the village.

Several Characteristics of Economic Policy

The relatively swift and really forced industrialization has certainly transformed the society of Romania to a large degree. The resulting mobility has meant not only an "upward" movement but a horizontal one as well, a movement of populations among the various regions. In the course of this the Romanians

are going through a process of uniformization; the peculiarities of the various regions are beginning to disappear (for the time being to a smaller degree). It can certainly be felt that those coming in to an area bring a new style and character. The uniformization process is realized primarily with the flow into industry, especially to the extent that they begin to become workers, and this proletarianization will strengthen further. This can be regarded as a process of national uniformization too. In this regard the national-nationalist ideology and way of thinking are interdependent with fundamental social processes.

These changes influence nationality relationships too, and offer an opportunity for deliberate changes in them, especially in regard to the urbanization which accompanies industrialization. The nationalities policy tries to make maximum use of these possibilities, even if this is harmful to the quality of industrialization. The latter result derives from the fact that they are trying to exclude the minorities, which have the greater technical culture, from industrialization and are trying to close the door to urbanization in front of them. They are trying to break the urbanization aspirations developing in the minorities as a result of social development and at the same time, when these are realized nevertheless, they are trying in part to exploit them and in part to turn them in a direction suiting the nationalist goal. It is a principle of the nationalities policy that the minority population of the cities should not be permitted to increase and so there are strict limitations on the settling of minorities in cities with mixed populations. In no way are Hungarians permitted to move to Kolozsvár [Cluj], Nagyvarad [Oradea], Arad and other similar towns. Settling in the towns in the Székely lands is also limited but since this is a purely Hungarian region the deterrents cannot be so effective as in areas with mixed population. But they are of such a degree that only small numbers of Székely Hungarians can move into them and they move rather to other towns in accordance with their urbanization aspirations. This is open to them in regard to non-Hungarian regions, which then results in a process which brings unique side-effects. In recent times Székelys have been moving in increasing numbers into neighboring Saxon towns. (Thus renewing an old tendency, one from the Middle Ages.) The Hungarian population of Brassó, Medgyes and Segesvár has increased significantly in the past 10 years. Even between the two wars the number of Hungarian workers in the first two was high but in the third this is a development of recent decades. The nationalities policy does not pay attention to this immigration or, if it does, then the development of the situation prompts negative steps. It is characteristic that the Hungarian population of Segesvár has doubled in 10 years--but there are no Hungarian schools. There are now more Hungarians in Brassó than in any one Székely lands town. They have no school system. The example of Medgyes is even more characteristic. It is slowly becoming Hungarian. Hungarian workers settled here between the two wars. They established a Hungarian school in 1947 by their own efforts. Later this operated as a section of the Saxon theoretical liceum. In 1976 the state transformed the 12 grade theoretical liceum (which offered secondary school diplomas) into a 10 grade school, thus reducing it to the limit of compulsory education.

For long years after the liberation the Szekely lands participated in no sort of industrialization but industrialization has begun here also in the past 10 years. But in order that this not lead to a betterment of the Szekelys, to a strengthening of the Hungarian minority, they are using the accustomed methods here also. Before all else this means organized and official immigration. The operation of the factories is based on Romanian workers brought in from more distant regions. It is decided in advance how many Hungarian workers can be hired by a newly formed or already operating enterprise. It is strictly determined how many Hungarian experts there can be too. The bulk of the necessary labor force is brought in from the parts of Romania beyond the Carpathians. Industrial development and school development plans are strictly coordinated in the interest of this goal. When the Azomures chemical factory was built in Marosvasarhely [Targu Mures] an entire class just graduated from the previously established technical school in Oltenia moved into the factory; they had been prepared just for the work planned in the factory. This factory is in the capital of the Szekely lands but 90 percent of the workers are Romanian. The ratio of Romanian skilled workers is even higher and the same applies to technical and administrative personnel too. It is characteristic that in 1968, when Azomures requested two chemists, two Hungarians were sent but the factory rejected them because they were Hungarians. A similar practice is followed in the factories in Kezdivasarhely and Sepsiszentgyorgy and the new machine factory was put into operation by moving in Romanians. The master workers and leaders here are Romanians too. This is explained by more general economic policy interdependencies, by the fact that the state organizes industrialization in such a way as to create "labor intensive" technologies in the Hungarian regions, preferably those which require low levels of training. Those with higher requirements are planned for and built in other areas.

Other economic measures supplement the administrative methods. It was long characteristic of Kovaszna province--and still is to some extent--that it was among the first in the country in regard to the ratio of skilled and specially trained workers as compared to the total population of the province. But in regard to the ratio of jobs requiring special training Kovaszna province is among the last. So the Szekelys with a high degree of technical experience go elsewhere to work. Primarily to the relatively nearby Brasso factories but farther away took to the old kingdom--a good number work in Bucharest. The factories newly built in Kovaszna province have not changed this situation at all. Indeed, the development of the old factories and the creation of new ones has strengthened this unique exchange process with economic effects. (This is also true of Hargita province.) The new factories and even more the already existing ones represent trades which have been relegated to the low categories on the national rank list. In accordance with this the wage key is low too. This means not only that there is in general less demand for skilled workers but also that the categories therein are lower too. The Brasso and Bucharest factories offer work opportunities for those with higher skills and they offer a good many of them but at the same time the type of skilled work is of higher value and offers higher wage categories. According to their character these factories are listed in higher value

categories; they are in the first category, factories of national importance, and there are no similar ones in the Szekely lands. The result of this skilled worker situation and this wage situation is that the workers from the Szekely lands continue to try to get work in these cities while the lower requirements of the factories in the Szekely lands suit the young Romanian workers just leaving the peasantry (many of them from Moldavia). At the same time (which is understandable considering their past) the lower wage categories suit them so in a spontaneous manner they are the ones who would rather work in these factories.

The state is trying to strengthen by new measures the situation which is developing as a result of economic and administrative effects. A new decree on settling in cities appeared in 1976. This not only maintains the earlier bans but also makes them more severe in several respects. At the same time it has the goal of reducing the number of "wanderers," that is those who do not work in their place of residence but rather go to other towns for work, either by settling them in these latter places or by getting them to work where they live. In the case under discussion this means that according to the decree they will try to settle the workers coming from the Szekely lands in the Romanian regions as a complement to the fact that the Romanians working in the Szekely lands have already settled there.

All these methods serve to direct the migration and urbanization of the Hungarians, if they cannot be completely excluded from industrialization, so that the minority communities are not strengthened but rather weakened to the greatest extent. But this also contains a peculiar choice. Because to a certain extent they are accepting a strengthening of the Hungarian worker class but they are trying to permit this only in a Romanian environment which is alien to them. They consider dangerous and they shy away from a strengthening of the Hungarian proletariat within its own nationality community but they are less afraid that the more radical Hungarian workers might strengthen the Romanian proletariat or even radicalize it. They feel that the greater danger is in nationality resistance and they are more afraid of this than of class hostility.

They are more afraid of the Hungarian nationality, as a whole, than they are of the Romanian workers as a class.

4. In two very essential respects the situation of the minorities in Romania differs from bourgeois type national oppression (both in general and in regard to past Romanian or Hungarian oppression). One is that they have no legal possibility for any sort of defense; indeed, every institution which might offer protection now works against them, on some way serves to oppress them. This oppression is not simply collective oppression; rather it strives to break up the collective. Thus the minorities are threatened in a most direct way in their national existence. The other thing is that they are caught in a social situation which serves to hinder every attempt to change and improve individual fate just as it hinders every collective aspiration. Thus the minorities are deprived of every prospect, both individual and collective. The general goal and the policy of abolition becomes concrete in this.

A third fact, effective indirectly, contributes to this too. The forced pace of industrialization means decreasing all services to the populace to the minimum tolerable. There are differences among regions in the world of relatively generally shared material shortages but everyone is kept at the lowest level possible. This means that the communities and strata with relatively higher demands (thus the minorities) have a level of supply below the level of needs they historically developed. Thus their exploitation is relatively greater than that of the Romanian populace. At the same time and parallel with this the relative advantages deriving from industrialization--possibilities for a certain degree of individual betterment--are strictly denied to them. There are no individual opportunities offering a point of reference which would make possible relative support for or at least acceptance of this economic policy. They feel and know that industrialization is directed against them; they experience this directly in everyday life. A denial of the foundations of their being can be constantly felt in concrete and constant discrimination, in their constant exclusion from virtually everything. There is hardly any area in which a numerous clauses is not carried out against them.

The relative exploitation is joined to absolute exploitation. The exclusion from social prospects connected with industrialization means the "prospect" of being excluded from society. They have been put under an alien and hostile policy which presumes that the society itself is alien to them and hostile to them.

There are no prospects before them in their own narrower world and there is no hope of any. Social betterment--whether from peasant to worker or even more so to intellectual--and cultural betterment within their own strata (and thus general acculturation) can be achieved only at the price of giving up their national past. Even maintaining that cultural level which historically developed within their given social strata can be ensured only at the same price. The deprivation takes place within this and through it. Only at the price of giving up their selves can they realize and maintain a social-cultural form of life suiting their needs. They can cling to their selves only at the price of lowering their needs. And the more they cling the lower they must put their needs and truly consistent behavior forces them to vegetation or to leaving society. Because all acculturation brings something (at least in content) which destroys the cultural unity of their life and world. And the only exit is into the world of police repression. And those fraternal cultural contacts which could give strength are in this situation only paths to new deprivation.

And those who give up clinging to their own world, even they can only partially escape from isolation. In the best case they find new forms of discrimination, softer and more hidden but no less real. As always those who assimilate remain foreigners. And even if there is no openly hurtful discrimination, they get in its stead humiliation. The behavior towards "internal aliens" necessarily brings this into being.

If they do not confess their own entity, cannot assume or realize it relatively freely, then they are and remain in a deprived situation. And escape can only take them into something similar. And yet their assuming of their selves must always remain hidden and partial. They are increasingly crippled in their being and in their self-realization.

In addition no sort of compensation can develop in the general and powerful frustration. There is nothing which they can assume, with which they can identify even in their imagination. The degree of oppression which this represents is betrayed by how they made efforts in 1968 to identify with the Romanian position against the Czechoslovak action and thus resolve somewhat their alienation. The hopelessness of the attempt is shown by its swift dispersal.

Every bettering, however small, puts every member of a minority in a dubious situation, because they thus give service to a policy which is aimed at and realizes the exploitation and intellectual annihilation of their own comrades. The "way out" of this can be only complete moral corruption. In every other case they must live with a split awareness. And this means not only playing a role before the power--which in itself destroys the unity of human individuality--it means much more, it means an essential split within human nature. They live in all ways and always in a psychotic state. The psychosis follows from the completeness of the frustration or from the sharpening of the maladjustment. The only alternative to being forced into a permanent psychosis is simple vegetation, sinking into it, remaining in some sort of reduced existence, some sort of complete brutalization.

They can find protection, to a relative degree, in only two things. There is a little protection where the minorities live in larger units and where, being together in deprivation, they can offer each other mutual support. Such are the Szekely and Saxon communities. Especially the latter because in the course of history the Saxons built for themselves a most private life. But now this turning inward and self isolation means limiting one's self to a world which in the final analysis cannot realize itself. It cannot ensure a balanced existence for individuals; the oppression and dissolution have broken in already.

The other possibility is emigration. But this is only partly possible, and only for Germans and Jews. Taking everything together, the psychological pressure on the Saxons is relatively smaller than it is on the others, than it is on the Swabians, who are also Germans, for example. Without doubt the situation of the Hungarians is the worst, especially that of those who live outside the Szekely lands in the cities. Socially it is that of the workers and intellectuals. All the more so because they always lived a more open form of social life than the German language minorities. The psychosis producing character of their situation is increased by the fact that they are separated from the majority of their nation by only one border, and state policy builds an artificial isolation from it. The situation of the Jews is more ambiguous because their social roots are partly Romanian and partly

(in Transylvania) linked to the Hungarian spiritual-social world. In the latter case the oppression and deprivation is doubled. But emigration is a historically developed form of life and system of relating and means a restructuring of goals and ways of thinking, assuming their Jewish nature in a new form.

Finally, the exploitation of every minority is topped off by the fact that in the situation forced upon them the state is trying to break the class awareness of the minority strata with its national-nationalist policy. With the exception of the peasantry the nationalist policy denies the social nature and right to class existence of every stratum and class. They are subordinated to nationality affiliation and to a numerous class deriving therefrom.

Those profiting from this policy would appear to be the Romanians, according to the official representation the Romanian people. But this is only apparently so.

In the case of Romania the national-nationalist policy and the forced pace industrialization are inseparable. This is true in terms of social reality and in terms of ideology. The national-nationalist industrialization is actually a peculiar form of industrial development. It would like to be maximal but in accordance with the concrete situation it is in no way optimal. The nationalist character actually means a denial of this optimal scale. But not only this. Because rational industrial development would mean maximal use of existing resources and natural resources and an expansion of opportunities.

The nationalist industrialization violates this in many ways and is even opposed to it. In the first place because the nationalities policy excludes from active participation in industrialization the relatively most developed social strata and communities, those which have the greater industrial culture and who could thus accelerate the professional and social formation of the new workers emerging from the peasantry and could raise the level and character of production. Thus, on the basis of the policy which is being realized, development is slower than it could be and at the same time more painful. In the second place the nationalist industrialization actually follows the Stalin model; it forces uneconomical development, gives the advantage to uneconomical branches (iron and steel) and develops the economical branches (the chemical industry) as little as possible. Even less does this industrialization reckon with the importance of a proportion between human sacrifices and results achieved; the limits of this proportion are of interest only from the police point of view. In reality this practice is chasing an abstraction, trying to realize an abstraction, abstractions stand in the center of it and abstractions are cited in justification of it. The greatness of the nation (and such like) means only the sum of these abstractions; a dark and brief formula which can say anything and which says nothing and so can be used to endorse any ideology.

In the second place the national-nationalist ideology strives with all its strength to reconstruct the conflict world of society in a definite direction and to distort it with a practice which gives meaning. They are doing this in such a way as to subordinate the experienced reality of conflicts to relations with the other nationalities, the minorities, and the Soviet Union. Thus they do not want to resolve the tensions existing within society or solve the problems existing behind the tensions but rather they try only to "drain off" the conscious projections of these. More precisely, to lead them astray, away from all problems, away from all actual relationships. They try to hinder and they do hinder a coming to awareness of the conflicts of interest existing in society--on the basis of economic-social relationships. As a result it is difficult to awaken the social strata and classes to self-awareness; they try to make obscure the existing forms of self-awareness and they thus hide the actual relationships to the ruling stratum. Indeed, the goal is to create an identification with the ruling strata. In the final analysis what is operating is an ideology of tyranny or, in a broader sense, of accepting subordination and oppression, and in a multiplex way for it hides primarily the general social conflict structure. But it also hides the sharing of the burdens of industrialization and it results in having the social strata in just the worst situation shoulder the greatest burdens. Those strata which are in a subordinate and exploited situation. Thus this ideology is not simply an ideology of oppression and exploitation but also an ideology for increasing oppression and exploitation. And this function of it is realized primarily against the Romanian worker class (and the Romanian peasantry).

It is characteristic that the national-nationalist policy embraces primarily three social strata, affects them to a more significant degree: the increasing number of "new workers" within the worker class, the intelligentsia and the strata consisting of members of the hierarchy. Although it affects everyone differently the structure of these effects is still similar. Everyone is given the "task" of accepting difficulties and shortages, both general and permanent ones and those called unique or extraordinary, in the interest of the national goal, accelerated development (the allegedly existing or to be realized independence), to shoulder the burdens of industrialization and the burdens deriving from an irrational policy (it is thus especially important to hide the difference between the two). Within this similarity the different strata prosper in different ways among those links on the basis of which the undertaking can come into being and the undertaking of which this policy and ideology wants to achieve.

Becoming workers certainly means progress for the new workers streaming into the towns as a result of industrialization. And considering the impoverished condition of agriculture it really is. But the propaganda enhances the actually existing progress, even if the interpretation is accepted somewhat cynically, even if they know the propaganda has no content they still stick to the text, the argument about their leading role in society. As a result of the improvement in the situation of the members of the new worker class this stratum represents the fundamental support for the power system of

society both in the industrialization policy and in general. But this situational improvement is in part the result of being declassed. The new workers have not yet broken completely from the village and thus they improve their situation, along with the better urban income and housing, with goods coming from their families in the village, something that cannot be neglected as a result of the catastrophic food supply situation. Worker life has taken them over only partially, they are at the beginning of proletarianization. And that which they undertake as sacrifice in the name of the above improvement is simply the process of proletarianization and the effects thereof. A part of this is written off to the account of the generally very low standard of living and they think that industrialization will change this. Thus that which is actually the price of industrialization they attribute to the situation outside of industrialization and they hope for an improvement and a solution through industrialization and they undertake the industrialization in the name of national greatness. Thus the national-nationalist ideology, supporting itself on existing advantages makes them accept their own proletarianization and in the final analysis makes them accept the reality of their own class situation, which is oppressed and exploited. And within this that which is becoming permanent is presented as transitional, that into which they are going in general and finally. In this way this ideology prepares the new workers to give up their class interests and through them this happens to the entire Romanian worker class.

In the case of the intelligentsia the compensation is built on existing social privileges and within these on their advantageous material situation. This is made easier by the fact that the intelligentsia try to comprehend and interpret their own situation by means of abstractions and always undertake sacrifices in the name of abstractions, formulating their interests in abstractions, and providing ideological support for the other strata as well. In this case, however, the sacrifice which the intellectuals are undertaking means giving up something which is essential to their existence as intellectuals. They are accepting subordinate service and behavior as officials in place of independence and responsible awareness. They undertake their situation, as a class situation, as a forced sacrifice in the name of a forced cause. Under this heading they renounce critical behavior and give up formulating the reality of the other strata of society as a form of ideological activity which would formulate the interest world of these social strata. On the basis of an abstract whole and in the name of a national-nationalist policy which embodies the whole they renounce their obligations to society as a whole. What is realized is only the responsibility to the superiors and this is presented as service to the whole.

Thus, in reality, all these strata--despite the sharp clash of their interests and over and above these interest antagonisms--have undertaken to violate their own interests or to give them up. This is what the nationalist ideology serves and means. In this sense they undertake to support that policy which deprives them of realizing their own interests. And doing all this they construct the fundamental relationships of super- and subordination, the sharpest oppression of the worker class and peasantry. The way in which all

three of these realize their undertaking hides from them the irrationality of the policy they support or assume, the contradictory character of the goal formulated in words and thus obscures the inexpedient nature of this from society as a whole.

The opposition of the practical policy to the formulated goal--the inexpediency--emerges perhaps most clearly by comparing the most often voiced and most effective slogan to reality. The chief mobilizing slogan of the national-nationalist ideology is sovereignty, national independence. This is put forward primarily in oppression to the Soviet Union and is built on the practical policy being realized in this respect. This is also one of the arguments for forced industrialization. But in reality it is just the national-nationalist policy which is being realized which makes any sort of independence or self-reliance impossible--not only for the moment but over the long run. It is not only that the leaders of Romania are very careful never to really violate Soviet interests and to see that the system led by them is kept within limits according to Soviet interests but rather that all relative independence in the modern world requires conditions which a country as small as Romania can in no way guarantee with a policy of isolation. Economic independence within such narrow limits is an impossibility and every sort of increase in autarky only strengthens this vulnerability and actual dependence. There is no disputing that Romania is a country rich in raw materials. But equally there can be no doubt that it is far from having every raw material in sufficient quantity. But the nationalist policy is built on just this non-existent "everything." In such circumstances the forced industrialization necessarily leads to internal economic tensions and loss of balance and, in the final analysis, forces the country toward economic bankruptcy. It becomes necessary again and again (just as a result of this) to make use of outside aid. And in addition the much proclaimed independence from the Soviet Union would be possible only in the event of a series of conditions and primarily only on the basis of cooperation with neighboring countries. An economic, political and military unity with them could produce a real possibility for an independent policy. But the national-nationalist policy means just a denial of this and makes it ever more impossible. It arouses antagonisms with neighboring peoples and thus increases Romania's isolation. Cooperation with neighboring countries is ever less possible. The nationalist isolation strengthens that situation which the great powers were always able to play on in subjugating the countries of the area. Thus, in reality, that policy which preaches independence for the Romanian people maintains the dependence of this people to the greatest possible degree.

In internal respects the national-nationalist ideology is joined most closely to an autocratic oppression. Citing relations with the Soviet Union the Romanian leadership has built up methods of manipulation by means of external threats. They try to present this threat as ever greater in order to militarize the entire society to an ever greater degree. Citing this, they get people to accept poverty and try to consolidate and make complete the spiritual terror and the oppression of society. It is a social-ideological tool of the power against any sort of democratization. By oppressing the minorities it

defends its own essence and the oppression of the Romanian working classes because it cannot permit rights or ways of life to a partial community (the minorities), however small, which it denies to the majority. Even the least realization of self-determination must be taken away from the minorities when it is vital that the majority be denied just this. Thus, the situation of the minorities, the denial of their rights, is only a mirror, a magnifying mirror, in which one can see the true nature of the situation and way of life of the majority, of the Romanians. One can thus see clearly what situation the Romanian people and Romanian society are in. And because this is so it is another reason for oppression of the minorities. Especially because protecting the minorities, to even the least degree, would be a denial of the oppression weighing on society as a whole. The situation of the minorities constantly discloses the character of the entire society and the behavior of the minorities constantly shows the entire society the possibility of resistance. It is the task of nationalism to conceal all this. The best solution would be to break the "mirror," to liquidate the minorities and the situation and dreams of the ruling autocracy would be most tranquil if this were to succeed.

It is not to be wondered at if in this situation there are those among the Romanian intelligentsia who assume the national-nationalist ideology in order to silence their consciences, their own internal conflicts and somehow free themselves of the disturbing "mirror." The internal conflict derives from the fact that due to the relative but still existing resistance of the minorities there is a feeling of shame among the Romanian intellectuals. They are ashamed because the Romanian intellectuals tolerate in silence that the Romanian workers accept their situation in silence. Nationalism cannot suffocate this feeling of shame and the great goal, care for the nation and the people, is that which perhaps will not leave these intellectuals in peace in the future.

8984

CSO: 2500

INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN RADIO STATIONS CONDEMNED

Sofia ARMEYSKA MLADEZH in Bulgarian No 4, 1977 pp 55-57

[Article by Nikola Kofetarov: "The Socialist Youth--Target of Imperialist Radio Propaganda"]

[Text] "We are faced with a treacherous and dangerous enemy, for which reason it would be a major error to underestimate imperialist ideological diversion and to ignore the fact that it creates the danger of ideological and political retreats and hesitations on the part of some people who lack adequate ideological and political strength." Todor Zhivkov

In our days mankind is a witness of a new era in relations among countries and nations--the era of peaceful talks and cooperation. The epoch of the cold war and of conflicts is yielding to the process of steady normalizing of political and economic relations between the two social systems. In this respect the concluding stage of the European Security and Cooperation Conference and of its decisions was particularly important.

However, along with positive trends of international development, the contemporary period is characterized also by the aggravation of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. The constant process of the strengthening of our society and the enriching of the forms and content of anti-imperialist struggle contributes to the worldwide increase of interest in the theory and practice of the building of socialism, and in communist ideology.

Imperialist propaganda is trying to exercise a harmful ideological influence on all strata and social groups of the socialist society without exception. However, its main emphasis is on the ideological disarming of young people and the creative intelligentsia. The western propagandists try to insinuate to them with all possible emphasis the possibility of peaceful coexistence between bourgeois and socialist ideology, promote a subservient veneration of the capitalist way of life, and disseminate egotism, moral emptiness, and skepticism.

Youth is the future of any country. The efforts of the young people and the extent to which they will be active in the struggle for the interests of the working people, and for peace, democracy, and social progress, and the energy with which they will participate in strengthening the unity and power of the anti-imperialist front will determine the future successes of the state and the party. Our opponents understand this truth very well. That is why imperialist propaganda uses all possible opportunities to exert harmful influence on the political and moral foundations of the socialist youth.

Bourgeois radio propaganda has been ascribed an important role in the tremendous arsenal of means for the ideological "indoctrination" of the youth. The tremendous, even though potential, audience and the large number of radio receivers in the world (currently exceeding 1 billion), and powerful radio stations equipped according to the latest technology, as well as the large number of well-paid personnel create excellent conditions for the implementation of the plans of the ideological subversives.

Imperialist radio propaganda, mainly represented by the "black radio stations"--Radio Free Europe and Liberty (the first transmits to audiences in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria; the second broadcasts in the languages of the peoples of the USSR), as well as the representatives of "white propaganda," such as The Voice of America, Deutsche Wehle, BBC, and others, pay particular attention to young audiences. This is no accident. The employers of the ideological subversives are betting on a tried card, as follows: The present young generation has not experienced the difficulties of revolutions and wars, for which reason it does not offer significant psychological barriers to the acceptance of western "moral values." In other words, it is easier to "indoctrinate," naturally, on the air.

One cannot deny that this is assisted by the inclination of some people toward "western" things, essentially modern music, and various intrigues and rumors. One of the means for gaining over such an audience are the special youth programs such as "Teenerama," "Panorama," "Metronome," "Music Box," "By Request," and others, in which the life of the western youth is depicted in a most tempting manner: extensive possibilities for the manifestation of abilities, absolute "freedom" (freedom of sex, participation in demonstrations, and others), and the emphasis, whenever possible, that the socialist youth has no such "freedoms." (The reader may have traced an interesting transmission of the "Ray" program on Bulgarian television, described "runaways," broadcast at the end of November 1976. In the course of that program excerpts were read of court minutes recording the testimony of some confused young people who had run away to the West in the search for real "freedoms" and had returned to the country disappointed by the cruel and merciless capitalist reality radically different from the one described by the radio subversives).

Another means on which bourgeois radio propaganda relies the most in gaining over young listeners is that of various music transmissions, pop music essentially, in the course of which the latest achievements in that area are offered. We must emphasize that of late Radio Free Europe has greatly increased the number of hours of music broadcasts. This indicates the great reliance on this form of ideological influence. Increasing the time of musical programs and improving their variety by means aimed at drawing the attention of the audience, the managers of Radio Free Europe have set themselves another unseemly task as well: to turn the attention of the young people away from music (and not only music) programs of socialist radio stations, including Radio Sofia.

On the surface the music programs of Radio Free Europe seem harmless and would have remained such without frequent departures in the guise of "incidental," "clarifications" or "views" on a given problem or phenomenon in the capitalist world, or biting replicas addressed at specific institutions or leaders of the socialist country at which the transmission is beamed. The purpose of the favorable emotional atmosphere created by the music is to contribute to the easier assimilation of the ideas and interpretations preached. The music itself is used for purposes of ideological influence: The lyrics of the songs most frequently deal with the vaunted way of life in the capitalist world led by the youth, but not the youth pursuing specific noble objectives in life but the youth engaged in a meaningless and empty existence in which a single ideal--pleasure--is raised into a cult.

However, the most fatal influence of musical and other special programs for the youth beamed by Radio Free Europe, something which some of our young listeners may not be aware of, is that this ideological radio subversive as well as its "brother"--Radio Liberty--is operating on the basis of a drug--once absorbed it becomes difficult to abandon it. Musical transmissions, particularly those lasting over 1 hour, have frequent interruptions in the course of which the latest news is presented and commentaries on international topics are read. Even though the listener may not have had in mind to follow such news and comments, unwittingly he "lends his ear" for in the majority of cases he does not turn off his radio. It is precisely in this way that the ideological subversives are able to achieve certain propaganda objectives such as, for example, concealed desinformation.

Such desinformation is achieved mainly in accordance with the "twisted mirror" principle, i.e., by emphasizing some minor facts and ignoring others which, actually, are the essence of the phenomenon or event described. The audience may be given entirely "objective" information as well, as one of the stages in gaining over a totally unsuspecting listener. For example, should Radio Free Europe broadcast an important announcement, particularly a sensational one, before some of our radio stations, the radio audience develops the impression that that radio station is very honest with its public since an initial announcement usually has a stronger

impact on the assessment of a given event or fact and triggers mistrust toward other information sources. Should this be repeated several times the audience has been won as a regular "customer" of the ideas preached.

As in the past, anticommunist appeals and anti-Soviet attacks continue to play the main role in the tirades of "black" radio propaganda. Naturally, here again the target is specific: the young people. "Through anti-communism," states the BCP program, "and through the entire broad and all-embracing system of ways and means for ideological struggle and ideological subversion imperialism tries to defeat the communist movement, undermine the foundations of the socialist system, corrupt the ideological-political and moral unity of the peoples, of the youth in particular, in the socialist countries, and prepare conditions for the implementation of its main objective--the destruction of the world socialist system."

Of late the "black radio stations" have been experiencing considerable financial difficulties, regardless of the fact that they were allocated the record amount of \$65 million for the new fiscal year which began on 1 July 1976. For this reason the pitiful vestiges of the cold war were forced to curtail a great percentage of their broadcasts. It is noteworthy, however, that programs beamed at young audiences are continuing in their previous amount without any reduction in the number of hours. The sole exception is the long discredited musical program "All Together," which was broadcast every Saturday night to audiences in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The broadcasting of this absurd program was terminated.

Our socialist youth has many and varied ways and means to satisfy most fully its thirst for knowledge and for truly objective information in the fields of science, technology, politics, and economics. The young men and women are also given extensive possibilities for cultural and musical entertainment in their leisure time. As to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, it should not be forgotten for a single moment that the tens of millions of dollars they receive for promoting their activities are used not for purposes of creating a good mood among the listeners and broadcasting "objective" information, but for intensifying the ideological and psychological offensive of contemporary imperialism addressed mainly at the young generation of the members of the socialist comity.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

NEED TO OBSERVE SOCIALIST LEGALITY STRESSED

Sofia PRAVNA MISUL in Bulgarian No 1, 1977 pp 3-15

[Article by Professor Yanko G. Yanev: "For Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality in the People's Councils in the Light of the Decisions of the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The need to upgrade the role of the people's councils in the observance of socialist legality as a necessary prerequisite for improving social management was stressed at the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum. It was emphasized at the November 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum that one of the basic duties of the people's councils is to insure the strict observance of socialist legality and to prevent antisocial actions and manifestations in all fields of life. The Plenum decisions expressively stated that the people's councils must display statesmanlike exactingness toward all organizations on their territory. They must struggle against manifestations of departmentalism, insure the strict observance of socialist legality, and block all actions and manifestations violating the public order. A number of other similar stipulations were formulated, applicable to the people's councils and the local party organs.¹

In this respect the people's councils assume particular importance in connection with the implementation of the decisions of the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum on the systematic application of the Leninist principles in the field of social policy and insuring the high effectiveness and strict economy in the utilization of the country's labor, material, financial, and foreign exchange resources. This importance is determined both by the nature of socialist law and the social role of socialist legality, and the nature of the people's councils as the supreme organs of state power and people's self-administration locally in the period of building a developed socialist society.

Socialist legislation and, in broader terms, socialist law, are necessary prerequisites and the legal foundations for socialist legality. Legality demands, above all, the existence of specific legislation.

Socialist law represents the governmental will of the working people raised to the level of legal norms. Such norms create the same rights and obligations for all citizens and demand their identical application by all.

Socialist law is a new higher type of law. It is characterized not only by its class--proletarian or national--but its social-socialist nature as an antiexploiting law, as the law of a socialist society progressing toward social and moral-political unity. For the first time a new producing class, the entire working people become makers of the law through their state, expressing their sovereign will in controlling social relations, and the behavior of social classes, groups, and individuals in a historically determined and desired direction. That is why, for the first time in the history of mankind, socialist law is also truly democratic, humane, and just. It is not only a new but a historically superior type of law.

As a whole, socialist law is characterized by its permanently progressive nature. It is a law for which there are no obstacles of a socio-class nature to hinder its steady harmony with the objective requirements governing the development of the socialist society toward mature communism. It constantly reflects such requirements.

Socialist law scientifically reflects and properly expresses the requirements of the progressive development of social relations with a view to controlling most effectively the actions and behavior of the citizens and of the state and social organs and organizations in accordance with the trend of such developments in the interest of the working people, of the entire people.

Furthermore, socialist law is a legal program for the guidance of society and of its entire organization in its progress toward communism. It is one of the most important and most effective means of social management insuring the normal functioning of all structural parts of society as a system. It is the most important means for the implementation of the policy of the Communist Party and socialist state. The basic tasks and measures implemented by the party and the state for strengthening the socialist social and state system, the development of the socialist national economy, the broadening of socialist democracy and of the rights and freedoms of the citizens and of their guarantees, and the enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the people are implemented with the help of a number of legal acts passed by state organs from top to bottom. They enable us to carry out the overall activities of the state and, above all, its economic-organizational and cultural-educational function in developing and strengthening socialist and communist social relations, steadily increasing production forces, enhancing the scientific level and the cultural, moral, and ideological education of the working people, and promoting the spiritual and physical blossoming of the socialist working person.

Furthermore, socialist law is characterized by its social value manifested through its usefulness to society, its moral substantiation, and its social justice. The working people waged endless struggles with the exploiting and oppressing classes in order to create such a law. They fought historical types of law which were subjected to class limitations by virtue of their historical content. They fought for the overthrow of the domination of such classes and for the destruction of their law. In this sense socialist law is the implementation of the great ideals of the greatest minds and of the most progressive, the working class, for a just and a perfect human society, and for the type of social organization and order which offers the most favorable conditions for the all-round development of the spiritual and physical forces of man.

Therefore, the first objective prerequisite--socialist legislation and socialist law--necessarily calls for a greater strengthening of socialist legality in the people's councils in the period of building a developed socialist society.

The strengthening of socialist law, secondly, is required by its nature and social role, and its dependence on the economic, political, and cultural development of society.

Socialist legality is the legitimate result of the victory of the socialist revolution. It is also a necessary prerequisite and factor for its expansion and victory. It calls for the strict observance and implementation, conscientious use and proper and uniform application of legal norms by state, public, and economic organs and organizations, officials, and private citizens. However, its social function is considerably more complex.

Socialist legality introduces a certain order and regulation in social relations and in the actions and behavior of the individuals in accordance with legislative requirements and the legal program for the development of society. It is most closely linked with the power of the working class, the people, the political system, democracy, justice, and methods of state management. In this sense it is a structural part of the political system and a necessary prerequisite for and component of the proper functioning of democracy.²

Socialist legality is a necessary prerequisite for the existence of the socialist state and social system and of the socialist society itself. It is a pillar,³ the basic control link within the legal control mechanism, insuring the rule of laws,⁴ and the reality of legal control itself⁵ with the help of which the socialist society it built and developed.

The building of socialism is related to the deliberate organization of an exceptionally complex and fine network of new organizational relations covering planned production and distribution of the products needed for human existence.⁶ This cannot be accomplished without the strictest

possible observance of the laws. Socialist legality is triggered by "economic necessity."⁷ Its implementation becomes an economic need. That is why V. I. Lenin called for economic policy to be legislatively supported to the highest extent so that any possibility for deviating from it may be eliminated.⁸

The implementation of the requirements of socialist legality is a political necessity as well. "Politics means participation in the work of the state and in the direction of the state. It means the formulation of the forms, tasks, and contents in the activities of the state."⁹ Politics is the "concentrated expression of economics," while the law is the concentrated expression of the policy of the state. "The law is a political measure, it is policy."¹⁰ Expressed through the law, the policy of the working class and the people is a scientific policy directed toward the building of the most perfect society--communism. It holds a leading position in terms of the law and requires the securing of socialist legality. Thus securing and implementing socialist legality becomes a political need as well.

The implementation of the requirements of socialist legality is a spiritual, a cultural need. Legality is a structural part of the culture of the socialist society. It is also a means in the struggle for culture. The high level culture and education of the working people, the role of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the moral and aesthetic concepts, views, ideas, feelings, and moral and aesthetic principles and norms, and the established new social relations of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid necessarily demand the strict observance of socialist legality and the strengthening of the socialist legal and social order based on it.

Socialist legality is inseparably linked with socialist democracy, state and social discipline, and socialist justice. Socialist legality is of great importance to the proper functioning of the political system aimed at the further development of socialist democracy, and the factual exercise of the rights and freedoms and all citizens. At the same time, the development of democracy is inseparably linked with the strengthening of legality. The expansion of democracy contributes to the formulation of legal acts manifesting most fully the will of the working people, of the entire people. The legal codification and guaranteeing of the democratic rights and freedoms of the citizens create a general atmosphere of confidence. Legality is an important element of socialist democracy and one of its qualitative characteristics.¹¹ The BCP program stipulates that in the stage of building a developed socialist society the role of the law will be enhanced. Legislation will be improved and the socialist legal system and legality will be strengthened further as important prerequisites for the broadening of socialist democracy, for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and for the development of socialist social relations.¹²

The 11th party congress formulated important and responsible tasks in waging an effective struggle for the observance of socialist legality on the basis of citizens' equality.¹³ It called for the further expansion of the struggle against negative phenomena and for strengthening the social and legal conditions for the creation of a socialist way of life and for its consolidation. All this was reformulated particularly firmly at the July 1976 Central Committee Plenum which, in terms of significance, is the extension of the 11th party congress.

Socialist legality is inseparably linked not only with socialist democracy but with socialist discipline whose requirements are growing constantly. Such requirements are becoming particularly important in the light of the decisions of the July Central Committee Plenum. They call for firmly relying on socialist legislation and holding strictly liable anyone who would dare to violate it.

The strengthening of socialist legality and the growth of its social role in the period of building a developed socialist society call for improving the work of the political system as a whole, and of the state and public organizations and organs. The people's councils face particular requirements.

The significance of socialist legality and its strengthening in the people's councils is determined, thirdly, by the role and significance which the councils have within the social management mechanism.

The first leaders of the Soviet state paid particular attention to this role. Addressing the working people, V. I. Lenin wrote: "Comrades working people. Remember that now you yourself administer the state. No one would help you if...you fail to take in your hands all governmental affairs. Henceforth your soviets are organs of the state system. They are the legal and decisive organs."¹⁴ Ya. V. Sverdlov expressed himself in the same spirit: "Our party has invested its entire soul in the soviets. It is conducting its main work through the soviets and within the soviets."¹⁵ The councils are the most active and authoritative promoters of the party's policy in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The stipulations included in the decisions of the July and November 1968 BCP Central Committee plenums concerning the place and role of the people's councils in social management were developed further in the BCP Program, and at the 10th and 11th party congresses. The Party Program stipulates that the people's councils "shall resolve all problems of local importance and shall participate in the formulation and implementation of the policy of the state."¹⁶

The political line of strengthening the people's councils was codified in the Constitution: "Within the range of their competence the people's councils shall guide the development of the economy and health-social, communal-consumer and cultural-educational activities....They shall guide,

coordinate, and control the activities of economic organizations and establishments" on their territory and "shall be concerned with the maintenance of public order and legality, the defense of citizens' rights, the protection of socialist property," and so on (Art 114).

These are the politically expressed and constitutionally codified place and role, tasks, and functions of the people's councils within the social management system. The people's councils are the political foundations of the state. It is through them that the state guidance of society is mainly implemented. Essentially, all state organs are formed on their basis. The people's councils are the supreme authorities on the territory of the respective administrative-territorial unit. On their territory there is no other organ or organization possessing greater or equal governmental rights. This supremacy applies to all fields of sociopolitical, economic, social, and spiritual life and to all social, economic, and state organs and organizations. Because of this characteristic all organs and organizations on the territory of a people's council must take into consideration all legal stipulations in this respect. On the other hand, the legal stipulations are the base on which the councils formulate their practical activities, activities most closely linked with the stipulations of socialist legislation.

The important position of the people's councils within the social management system requires the following: "During the Seventh Five-Year Plan and through 1990 the comprehensive socioeconomic development of the individual territorial units shall be insured. Natural, material, and manpower resources shall be used more fully and efficiently. This shall result in higher social output...

"Particular attention shall be paid to territorial production specialization and concentration and effective production complexes shall be established."¹⁷

In this connection the decisions of the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum face the people's councils with a number of responsible assignments. The decisions are related to the systematic application of the Leninist principles in the field of social policy, insuring high effectiveness and a strict economy system in the utilization of labor, material, financial, and foreign currency resources available to the country with a view to their implementation on a territorial level and the implementation of the national programs formulated by the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers, on the territory of the respective people's council.

Such prerequisites and responsible tasks facing society determine the further strengthening of socialist legality both on the territory of the people's council, and its stipulations concerning all state, social, economic, and other organs and organizations, as well as in the activities of the people's councils themselves concerning each one of their employees in all areas of life.

The strengthening and further enhancement of the level of socialist legality is an objective law under socialist conditions. It is one of the important constitutional obligations of the people's councils and of their executive and performing authorities and all their workers and employees. Nevertheless, a number of crimes and other legal violations, as well as many other anti-legal and antisocial actions are committed on the territories of okrugs and obshtinas and in the activities of the people's councils and their organs. In the light of the decisions of the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, they appear on the territories of people's councils in the following main directions:

Crimes against the national economy and encroachments on socialist property account for a relatively high percentage of crimes. The means through which such encroachments are achieved are assuming a mass character. They are most visible in violations of requirements calling for a new approach to production planning and organization, implementation of economic policy, management of the economy and the country, and adoption of a new approach to cadres and cadre policy aimed at securing the pursuit of a high effectiveness and quality course as earmarked at the 11th party congress, a course to which the July BCP Central Committee Plenum paid particular attention as well.

They are manifested, as was pointed out at the July plenum, in the type of "style" of negligence and waste, and the violation of the Leninist principles of public order, a "style" which has become quite widespread and for which all cadres bear a certain responsibility. This faulty style includes the following: lowered, unrealistic, noncomprehensive, and uncoordinated planning; violations of technological, contractual, financial, labor, and other discipline; violation of requirements governing the proper reporting of plan fulfillments; wrong norming, accounting, and payment for labor, and illegal granting of bonuses; overexpenditure of materials, substandard output and rejects; undertaking construction projects without ready designs and organized financing; unjustified loss of time and non-utilization of production capacities; negligence and waste of socialist property; poor harvesting and storing of crops and finished products; inflation of tables of organization; generous wining and dining of guests; padding wages, payments for unfilled orders, and so on. In a number of cases all this is related to additional documentary crimes. On a national scale, in the Seventh Five-Year Plan the cost to the country of all this would total several billion leva.

Also alarming are direct encroachments on socialist property--thefts, acquisition, misappropriations, and others.

Considerable violations of the law occur in terms of protecting the life and health of the people, the environment, the land, national property, and so on. All this is constantly taking place under the eyes of the people's councils and with the assistance of their officials whose direct obligation it is to struggle against such delinquencies and protect the life and health of the working people.

A number of crimes are committed against the rights of the citizens on okrug and obshtina territory.

Many violations of the law occur in the activities of the people's councils and their organs as well.

Such violations are manifested, above all, in the direct or indirect participation in the basic violations of the law already listed, committed on the territory of the people's council, and the adoption of the type of harmful "style" of work we described.

Secondly, they are manifested in violations of the law committed in connection with the holding and proceedings of sessions held by people's councils and permanent commissions, by council members, executive committees, or individual officials, thus harming not only the interests of society and the state but the rights and interests of individual citizens.

Thirdly, they are found in erroneous, antisocial, and antistate actions and activities committed by organs and officials of people's councils, most clearly manifested in a bureaucratic attitude, wasting the citizen's time, poor work with citizen's complaints, reports, and suggestions, failure to exercise the necessary control over officials, and so on.

Considered, above all, from their subjective side, the reasons for violations of laws and other legal acts and of socialist legality by the people's councils may be classified into several basic groups:

1. Neglect for and violation of the Leninist principles of management, law and order, and underestimation of the role of socialist law. This is characteristic not only the people's councils and their organs and employees but of economic organizations and institutions on their territory. This is an underestimation which leads to severe violations of the law, to a disturbance of the legal and social order, to lowering the role of state management and of its quality and effectiveness, and to lowering the effectiveness of the economic and social policy of the party and the state.
2. Poor or insufficient knowledge on the part of the personnel of people's councils, economic organizations, enterprises, and establishments of the laws, the legal structure of the new economic mechanism, and their role in the most effective implementation of the economic and social policies of the party and the state, for which the people's councils will bear ever-greater responsibility. Hence their occasional thoughtless violation, yielding to intercession, favoring one or another individual, channeling funds and materials away from their specific purpose, and others.

3. Desire to justify violations by considerations of expediency, local conditions, and impossibility to apply the stipulations of socialist legality on the territory of the council or by a given organization, enterprise, or establishment as they have been written, in the light of a specifically developed situation, and so on.
4. Lack or inefficiency of control which must be exercised by all people's councils and the various state and social control organs on their territory.
5. Lack of sufficiently coordinated, constant, and comprehensive well-planned joint work in the struggle against violations of laws and other antisocial actions among people's councils and economic, public, and specialized state organs and organizations. Such joint work should be implemented along the line established by the state on their territory and above all in the activities of the people's councils themselves.

The people's councils have adequate possibilities to surmount such and similar reasons and to struggle successfully for the further strengthening of socialist legality on their own territory and in their own work in all realms of social life, and for the further strengthening of social law and order. In accordance with the decisions of the 11th congress and the July BPC Central Committee Plenum, strengthening legality in the people's council calls for proclaiming a fight and creating an environment of intolerance against:

Neglect and violation of Leninist principles of economic management, law and order, and the type of "style" of negligence and waste already mentioned;

Any waste of manpower, material, financial, and foreign exchange resources, in order to insure high effectiveness and a strict economy system in their utilization;

Negligence and misuse of public property so that all big and small loopholes through which such goods may be wasted may be blocked;

Direct encroachments on socialist property and on the work of industrial, construction, and other labor collectives, and agricultural workers;

Any conscious or unconscious action threatening the life and health of the working people or polluting the environment;

Parasitism, equalization, and consumerism in the implementation of social policy and in upgrading the living standard of the population;

Violations of citizens' rights, and manifestations of callousness and bureaucracy so that high social, state, and labor discipline may be maintained;

Any reason, weakness, or shortcoming which contributes, directly or indirectly, to the violation of the laws. Fight against the violators.

The July plenum formulated a higher criterion in assessing successes and, something even more important, a higher criterion to be used in assessing shortcomings. It raised most categorically the question of improving further the overall activities of all social management organs. The struggle against violations of legality must be based on this criterion. It must also be used in formulating the tasks of the people's councils with a view to the further enhancement and strengthening of their level and finding new additional possibilities and creating more favorable conditions for the accelerated building of mature socialism and for raising the living standard of the population.

It is on this basis that the struggle must be launched above all against the wrong style of management which, in some respects, has become the practice of people's councils, okrug people's councils mostly, and of all economic organizations on their territory. This is demanded by the party program according to which the people's councils must participate in the formulation and implementation of national policy, and the November Central Committee Plenum which assigns to them the obligation to display statesmanlike strictness toward all organizations on their territory, struggle against manifestations of departmental restrictions, insure the strict observance of legality, and prevent antisocial actions and manifestations in all fields of life. This is demanded by the Basic Directions for the Socioeconomic Development of the Country in the Seventh Five-Year Plan, directing them to participate actively in the implementation of the main socioeconomic task, to improve okrug planning, and for developing the executive committees of okrug people's councils to an even greater extent into organs for the coordination and operative management of the overall socioeconomic development of the respective okrugs, and so on. The people's councils will assume a large share of the implementation of the roughly 20 national target programs adopted for the implementation of the decisions of the July plenum. Each of these programs is a specific indication for decisive action aimed at eliminating manifestations of an erroneous management style and for a systematic application of the Leninist principles of economic management, work, administration, decisive actions for blocking the channels through which people's resources are wasted, and for upgrading the effectiveness of all work.

In this respect ever-greater priority will be given to the role of territorial management of all realms of social life--economic, social, spiritual, and others. The role and significance of the people's councils will increase. They shall implement the policy of the party and the state, establish proportions, find production funds, and contain the main productive force and nearly everything necessary for the implementation of the long-term and annual plans and programs.¹⁸ The Seventh Five-Year Plan was adopted in three sections: national, sectorial, and territorial. The

implementation of the plan on the territory of the okrug includes not only local but all measures. This enabled the okrug people's council to become the overall manager. The people's councils are also in charge of developing a national comprehensive system for social services to the population.

The implementation of the new and steadily growing tasks faces the people's councils with new requirements. It calls for strengthening the legal foundations of state and public life, and for strengthening and raising the level of socialist legality in the activities of all state, economic, and public organs and organizations, and in all realms of life on the territory of the councils, of okrug people's councils above all. More specifically, this demands of the people's councils to supervise most strictly the observance of the new approach in the implementation of the economic policy of the party and the state, making the planned qualitative changes in management and in further economic progress, and bearing in mind not only the interests of the individual production-economic units but of the entire national economy. This will contribute to improving the structure of public production, create proportionality and synchronization in the development of the economy on a national scale, and establish all the necessary prerequisites for the active and equal participation of our country in socialist economic integration, and for all-round cooperation and rapprochement with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries. This will also create a proper approach to procuring more, more varied, and better quality goods, eliminating substandard output, effectively using people's funds, and material and labor resources, upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments, and surmounting the one-sided approach to problems of living standard, considered so far mainly from the consumption viewpoint rather than as a factor for upgrading public production and for properly coordinating the growth and utilization of public funds with the growth rates of the national income and in accordance with the requirements and the contribution of every socialist working person.

All this is within the possibility and framework of granted political and state power competences and rights and assigned political and juridical obligations to the people's councils. It stems from the requirements of the objective political and legal nature of socialism in strengthening legality, a nature which is manifested evermore emphatically under the conditions of building a developed socialist society, reaching its total expression in the course of the expanded building of communism.

Under the conditions of building a developed socialist society and the expanded building of communism, this necessity is determined by the development of the economic and socio-class structure of the society, the overall progress of the political organization of society toward communism, and the increased complexity of the tasks facing it, the specialization, concentration, and cooperation of public production, and the upgrading of requirements governing its quality and effectiveness. At the same time, it is required by the increased role of representative

organs, the increased activeness of public organizations, the evermore widespread and active involvement of the working people in the formulation and implementation of state policy, the expanded rights of the citizens and their increased responsibility, and the enhancement of social awareness and intolerance of public opinion toward crimes, delinquencies, and other antisocial actions.¹⁹

Utilizing optimally the effect of these and all other favorable factors and conditions, the people's councils can struggle successfully to surmount existing manifestations of violations of legality and to contribute to its further development and strengthening both within the respective administrative-territorial units as well as in their own activities and the activities of their organs. This requires the following:

First. The people's councils, the okrug people's councils in particularly, must exercise constant and effective control over the proper use and application of the laws. They must not allow violations of the Leninist principles of management, legality, and order, they must block any attempt at deliberately unrealistic, lowered, and uncoordinated planning, erroneous breakdown and improper reporting of plan fulfillments, erroneous wage norming, accounting, and payment and allocation of above-norm and bonus funds, violations of contractual, financial, labor, technological, and other discipline, concealment of substandard or unnecessary output or rejects, unjustified use of materials and monetary and manpower resources, and so on, and so forth.

In this connection the people's councils must wage a most decisive struggle for the observance of all stipulations of the July BPC Central Committee Plenum for the systematic application of the Leninist principles in social policy and for insuring high effectiveness and strict savings by all organizations, enterprises, or establishments on okrug or obshtina territory. They must stop all erroneous information or demands. They must adopt the strictest possible measures to eliminate unrealistic planning and reporting or the gross and shameful deceiving of superior party and state organs. It is thus that they will be able to meet best the imperative of the party's program: development of control in all sectors of construction, economic work of enterprises and activities of state organs, and observance of socialist legality to be asserted to an ever-greater extent as the irrevocable right and prime obligation of the people's councils.²⁰

Second. They must overcome the underestimating of socialist law whose role will continue to rise,²¹ and of socialist legality for whose total observance the party will continue to struggle.²² Upgrading the role of the law and the respective strengthening of socialist legality is the main pattern in the development of legal control in building a developed socialist society and in the expanded building of communism. This was pointed out, yet once again, at the 11th congress and the July BCP Central Committee

Plenum. They emphasized the need to upgrade the role of the law in the systematic implementation of party and state policy, improving state management, strengthening further socialist law and order, effective protection of citizens' rights, and general strengthening of the legal foundations of public and state order. These stipulations must not only become well understood by all state organs and officials and all economic and social organs and organizations, and managers and private citizens, but be borne in mind by all in the course of their activities, on the one hand, and encourage them to launch an even more energetic and effective struggle for the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance of violations of socialist social norms, on the other. In this respect the people's councils and their organs must hold a leading position.

Third. All attempts to justify violations of laws with considerations of "revolutionary expediency," "impossibility" of applying laws under existing "local conditions," a "created situation," or "as they are written," and so on, by a given economic organization, enterprise, or establishment, or by the people's council itself, must be decisively eliminated. Our party has steadily directed the attention to this and has constantly sounded the alarm against any violation of socialist legality and for decisively surmounting any such attempt which opens the path to arbitrariness and which is, essentially, arbitrary. The question of the expediency of a law is decided not by the one applying the legal norms or by the managers and workers of social and economic organs and organizations, or heads of establishments and their personnel, but by the collective judgment, experience, and reassessment of the legislator who has the exclusive right to make laws. He does this according to the objective stipulations of our socioeconomic development and in the interest of the working people. The expediency is contained within the laws themselves, in the legal acts. The role of managers and employees, and of all those who apply the law is to seek, within its framework, its most effective application. The decisions of the July 1976 Central Committee Plenum are fully imbued with this spirit. The same spirit must imbue all actions of economic and state organs and organizations and, above all, people's councils, and their executive and specialized organs.

Fourth. A well coordinated, permanent, comprehensive, and effective organization must be developed for joint work in the struggle against violations of laws and other antisocial actions on the territory and in the activities of the people's councils, public and economic organs and organizations, and specialized state and public-state (state-public) organs and organizations. By the end of 1976 nearly all okrugs had adopted comprehensive programs for the struggle against crime, delinquencies, and other negative actions, in which the people's councils had been allocated a central role. On 16 December 1975 a national conference was held in Pazardzhik on raising the level of socialist legality within the system of the people's councils to the level of contemporary requirements. To this effect the people's councils of Pazardzhik Okrug traded positive

experience in their joint efforts with all public and economic organs and organizations and specialized organs on the okrug's territory. The task now is, in the light of the decisions of the 11th congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, to improve the organization, intensify the control, and upgrade the exactingness facing all organs and organizations, and all establishments and specialized organs. In this respect the coordinating activities of okrug people's councils and okrug BCP committees assume a special role. This task also stems from the unified program for the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the struggle with crime and other delinquencies, adopted by the State Council in November 1975.

Fifth. The legal education of the working people on obshtina territory must be intensified and organized better, covering not only the dissemination of legal knowledge among the population but the study of basic laws by all economic organizations and organs and institutions. The people's councils, their permanent commissions on legality or respective legal departments or services, and the council members and officials, who must give the example to all other employees and workers in the economic and management areas, must be the binding link in such activities. This role of the people's councils is based on their constitutional obligation to be concerned with the observance of public law and order, to safeguard citizen's rights, and protect socialist property on their territory. Let us recall V. I. Lenin's words that "We must learn to struggle in a cultured way for legality, never forgetting the limits of legality in the revolution,"²³ and his statement that without uniform socialist legality there could be no question of any development of culture.²⁴

Sixth. A decisive struggle must be launched against all and any violators of socialist legality, using, in addition to education, the repressive function of socialist law to the fullest extent. The 11th congress and the BCP Central Committee July Plenum called for expanding further the struggle against negative phenomena in our life, for blocking and uprooting decisively cases of waste and violations of socialist property,²⁵ surmounting cases of tolerance and liberalism, and decisively upgrading the strictness toward and liability of people who violate party morality and the laws governing socialist community life and misuse their given trust, rights, and powers. Paying serious attention to the unsatisfactory state of discipline, they called for decisively eliminating violations of labor, planning, contractual, and financial discipline. This faces all economic organs and organizations and establishments, and specialized organs in the struggle against crime and delinquencies, and the people's councils with new requirements which demand the strictest, and most effective utilization of legal regulations themselves. The state arbitration organs, and the legal organs and services of okrug people's councils, the legal councils, and the banking and other organs must reorganize their work making use of all sanction rights granted by socialist law. The prosecution, court, and other organs must intensify their preventive activities and resort more daringly and strictly to the use of penalties. The okrug people's councils play a major role in the proper use and coordination of such activities.

Raising the struggle for the further strengthening of socialist legality to a qualitatively new level calls for decisive improvements in the party's management of people's councils, public and economic organs and organizations, specialized organs, and other institutions. Strengthening legality within the people's councils must become the daily task of all organs and organizations on the territory of the people's councils. High principle-mindedness and strictness must be displayed toward all violators of socialist laws, of "the true people's decisions" "mandatory and to be most strictly observed by all--by the state and economic organs and managers, regardless of their position, and by the millions of citizens. An irreconcilable struggle must be waged against those who violate this golden rule of our socialist community."²⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Place and Role of the People's Councils in the Social Management System. BCP Central Committee Decision," Sofia, 1968.
2. See "Teoriya Gosudarstva i Prava" [Theory of the State and Law], Moscow, 1972, p 469; Marksistko-Leninskaya Obshchaya Teorii Gosudarstva i Prava. Osnovnyye Instituty i Ponyatiya" [General Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State and Law. Basic Institutions and Concepts], Moscow, 1970, p 501.
3. See S. S. Alekseyev, "Problemy Teorii Prava" [Problems of Legal Theory], Vol 1, Sverdlovsk, 1972, p 156.
4. See V. A. Shabalin, "Systems Analysis of the Legal Control Mechanism," SGP, No 10, 1969, p 125.
5. See P. M. Rabinovich, "Uprocheniye Zakonnosti--Zakonomernost' Sotsializma (Voprosy Teorii i Metodologii Issledovaniya)" [Strengthening Legality is a Socialist Law (Problems of Research Theory and Methodology)], L'vov, 1975, p 144.
6. See V. I. Lenin, "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 171.
7. See "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences, and Central Committee Plenums], Vol 4, Eighth Ed., p 131.
8. See V. I. Lenin, "PSS," Vol 45, p 244.
9. Ibid., Vol 33, p 340.
10. Ibid., Vol 30, p 99.

11. See Ye. M. Chekharin, "Sovetskaya Politicheskaya Sistema v Usloviyakh Razvitogo Sotsializma" [The Soviet Political System Under Developed Socialist Conditions], Moscow, 1975, pp 218-219.
12. See Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 1971, pp 96 and 97.
13. See T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na Tsentralniya Komitet na Bulgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya za Perioda Mezhdurazmesetiya i Edinadesetiyata Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi" [Report of the BCP Central Committee on the Period Between the 10th and 11th Congresses and the Forthcoming Tasks], Sofia, 1976, p 109.
14. V. I. Lenin, "PSS," Vol 35, p 66.
15. Ya. M. Sverdlov, "Izbr. Proizv." [Selected Works], Vol 2, Moscow, 1959, p 140.
16. Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 1971, p 95.
17. "Theses of the BCP Central Committee on the Basic Directions of Economic Development of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the Seventh Five-Year Plan and Through 1990," in the book "Tezisi na TsK na BKP vuv Vruzka s Podgotovkata na Edinadesetiyata Kongres na Partiyata" [Theses of the BCP Central Committee in Connection with Preparations for the 11th Party Congress], Sofia, 1976, p 69.
18. See Ye. I. Korenevskaya, "Combination of Sectorial with Territorial Aspects in Planning and Coordination Activities of Local Soviets," SGP, No 9, 1976, p 81.
19. See P. M. Rabinovich, op. cit., pp 175-178.
20. See Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party, p 96.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. V. I. Lenin, "PSS," Vol 44, p 465.
24. Ibid., Vol 45, p 199.
25. See T. Zhivkov, op. cit., pp 168, and 170-171.
26. T. Zhivkov, "Izbrani Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Vol 12, Sofia, 1976.

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CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOFFMANN MAKES CLOSING SPEECH

Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 28 May 77 LD

[Speech by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium chairman and Central Trade Union Council chairman, at close of Ninth All-Trade Union Congress of the Revolutionary Movement in the Congress Palace, Prague, on 28 May--recorded]

[Text] Dear, esteemed comrades, and guests:

The Ninth All-Trade Union Congress is coming to a successful conclusion. We have responsibly assessed the activity and the development of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [RTUM] since the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress, and set exacting tasks for the next 5 years. We have heard a debate rich in thought which has produced many suggestions for our future work. The deliberations of the congress were very positively influenced and inspired by the extraordinarily important speech made by Comrade Husak, leader of the delegation of the Central Committee of the party, the National Front and the government, which produced a great response and complete accord not only here at the congress, but in the entire RTUM. [applause]

It has thus reaffirmed the Leninist attitude of the CPCZ to the trade unions, and it is a great tonic for our continued activity. We have listened with great interest to the greetings of foreign delegations which complete the picture of international relations, the assessment of the class internationalist nature of our organization and its activity and of the international Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The congress passed a resolution and other documents, and also amendments to the statutes, and elected a new Central Trade Union Council and Auditing Commission. In this context I have been instructed first to thank the members and candidate members of the Central Trade Union Council and the Auditing Commission who acted between the Eighth and Ninth All-Trade Union congresses, worked selflessly, and who should take merit for the results achieved; and second, on behalf of all members and candidate members of the organs newly elected today to thank you, the delegates of the congress, for the trust which you have shown us in the secret ballot by your votes. We

assure you, and the entire RTUM, that we are aware of the great responsibility which you have thus conferred on us, and that we shall do everything in our power to implement the conclusions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, for the successful work and further development of the RTUM, for an ever improving life for Czechoslovak working people. [applause]

What was the Ninth All-Union Congress like? It was a congress of a proud balance sheet, a congress of creative and devoted work, critical views of achieved results, factual discussion of our abilities and the challenging tasks for the next period. It was a congress which showed that the Czechoslovak trade unions are a strong, capable organization, faithful to its mission, which develops comprehensively all functions and is aware of the substance of all the roles of trade unions: concern for the development of production and the creation of resources as the only prerequisite for the development of comprehensive concern for working people and their interests.

It was a congress of responsible and successful managers of the country, who are aware of the growing demands but also of the greater powers and possibilities of their trade union organization, who discussed how to make more use of all the skillful hands, minds full of ideas, initiative and enthusiasm, elan and fighting determination of Czechoslovak working people for the prosperity of the socialist homeland and in the interest of socialism, progress and peace throughout the world. [applause]

It was a congress which manifested the firm political and organizational unity of our organization, the identical views in its ranks, and this unity and identity leans on the broad democracy of our organization. It was a congress of an organization of an advanced working class which has left no one in doubt as to its standpoint on all basic questions--on the role of socialist trade unions, the relations and approach to socialism, hostile attacks against our system, the approach to the CPCZ and its policy, to the program of the 15th congress, to the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the international Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Movement and class brothers who in a number of countries are fighting a difficult fight for the rights of working people.

It was a congress mobilizing and directing all powers of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement toward the main tasks. Through the composition of the delegates and the composition of the newly elected Central Council of Trade Unions, our organization has shown interest in the further flow of fresh young power, in the development and utilization of the abilities of those who now bear the main load of the work of trade unions and in the further active activity of meritorious officials who have done so much for socialism and for the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

It was a congress which has shown that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which expresses the faithful link with revolutionary traditions with

attention to the revolutionary tasks of the present time, is aimed solely at serving faithfully the working class and other working people. This is why it accepts and supports only a policy which aims at the interest, benefit and well-being and all-round development of working people. And this is why [applause], and this is why we have adopted as the basis of our activity the policy of the CPCZ, and we will actively and with all efforts implement the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

Comrades, why was our congress able to conduct its work so successfully? Because we were able to build on the enormous amount of work carried out over 5 years and, more recently, over the past few months at annual members' meetings, conferences and congresses, on the amassed wealth of experience of our organization; because thanks to the press, radio and television our congress took place practically with the participation and active support of the entire RTUM and the broad public. The tens of thousands of discussions which took place throughout the republic during the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, and the 8,600 reports on the implementation of pledges adopted in honor of the congress, information about new pledges and labor records, and the lively response to the congress deliberations, contributed to an atmosphere which felt as if the entire RTUM were constantly present here.

The congress was successful because it was able to lean on the constant attention, support and assistance of the CPCZ, because we were able to meet with support and interest for a further and still closer cooperation with other organizations of the national front, because we were able to utilize the rich experience and cooperation of the fraternal trade union organizations of socialist countries, and their recent congresses, above all the 16th congress of the Soviet trade unions, because we had the support and inspiration of manifestations of solidarity of all the present foreign delegations, because thousands of workers had created good organizational, technical, material and other conditions for a smooth, successful course of the congress.

We express our gratitude to all, and assure all who so favorably influenced the conditions and the course of the deliberations of the congress, and in particular our valued and dear guests, the delegation of the Central Committee of the party, the national front and the government, Comrade Husak personally, the present foreign delegations and our members, that the Central Trade Union Council and the entire RTUM will fulfill its responsible role with honor. [applause]

Comrades, we conclude the successful congress of the RTUM. We face a particularly demanding task: to fulfill everything it decided upon, with what it charged trade union organs and organizations. We therefore cannot afford to lose a single day, and immediately from the beginning of next week we shall concentrate on implementing the new tasks. Therefore, the Central Trade Union Council at its constituent meeting today has already approved a plan for political-organizational safeguarding of the conclusions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress in the entire RTUM. If we are to briefly

outline what faces us in the near future, we must emphasize the three following tasks: above all, to transfer the business-like atmosphere of the congress to all primary organizations and trade union sections, and acquaint all members, all Czechoslovak working people in detail with the documents of the congress. Second: to elaborate them into concrete plans of the entire RTUM and of individual primary organizations. And finally, third, to realize these plans gradually, beginning with their approval, and safeguard them consistently, carry out running checks on their implementation, mobilize the forces of the organization, and purposefully organize the participation of members.

The pace which we achieved in the preparations of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress must not only be maintained but developed. The successful implementation of the conclusions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress: this is and will remain our best contribution with which to meet the celebration of the glorious anniversaries--the 60th anniversary of Great October and the 30th anniversary of victorious February. We have another 5 years of responsible and meritorious work in the interests of the working people ahead of us. Let us take care that the 10th All-Trade Union Congress may draw up a balance sheet of still more pronounced results of the numerous ranks of functionaries and members of the RTUM.

Let us prove that the trade unionists, and their united organizations imbued with revolutionary determination are a reliable ally and support to the CPCZ, a significant force in building an advanced socialist society. For this I wish you, the delegates, all functionaries and members of the RTUM, to all of us, good health, good cheer and complete success in our common effort.
[applause]

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TRADE UNION CONGRESS ELECTS LEADING BODIES

Prague PRACE in Czech 30 May 77 p 2 AU

["The Central Bodies of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Elected by the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress"]

[Text] Chairman and deputy chairmen of the Central Trade Union Council [CTUC]:

Hoffmann, Karel--CTUC chairman
Abraham, Ladislav--First CTUC deputy chairman
Bezel, Vaclav--Second CTUC deputy chairman

CTUC secretaries:

Bravenec, Frantisek	Kacirek, Bedrich
Hanzalova, Drahomira	Kozik, Viliam
Jasik, Ladislav	Marik, Vladimir

CTUC Presidium:

Hoffmann, Karel	Marik, Vladimir
Abraham, Ladislav	Bakosova, Jolana
Bezel, Vaclav	Bogner, Oldrich
Brabenec, Frantisek	Dobos, Michal
Hanzalova, Drahomira	Dubnicka, Augustin
Jasik, Ladislav	Dubovska, Marie
Kacirek, Bedrich	Eichenberger, Viliam
Kozik, Viliam	Hlavicka, Josef
Hynek, Vladimir	Pokorna, Jarmila
Kasperkova, Magda	Strnadova, Eva
Kaukusova, Marie	Taborska, Jitrenka
Litvak, Mikulas	Valek, Josef
Majzlanova, Helena	Veselka, Vaclav
Masek, Stanislav	Wawreczkova, Vera
Navratilova, Anna	Zaruba, Josef

CTUC Secretariat:

Hoffmann, Karel
Abraham, Ladislav
Bezel, Vaclav
Brabenec, Frantisek
Hanzalova, Drahomira

Jasik, Ladislav
Kacirek, Bedrich
Kozik, Viliam
Marik, Vladimir

Chairman and deputy chairmen of the CTUC Auditing Commission:

Kalman, Matej--Chairman of the CTUC Auditing Commission
Travnicek, Jan--Deputy chairman of the CTUC Auditing Commission
Kanas, Julius--Deputy chairman of the CTUC Auditing Commission.

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

HARRY TISCH ADDRESSES NINTH FDGB CONGRESS

Socialist Way of Life

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 0915 GMT 16 May 77 DW

[Report of the FDGB National Executive Committee, rendered by FDGB chairman Harry Tisch at opening session of the Ninth FDGB Congress at the Berlin Palace of the Republic--live]

[Text] Dear colleagues, a successful stretch on the road of 5 years of trade unionist work lies behind us. One year ago the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Party of Germany established that the policy of the Eighth Party Congress has reaped rich fruit in its goal of doing everything for the weal of the working people, for the happiness of our people. It has paved the way toward the hitherto most successive period of time in the history of our people. From the platform of this Ninth FDGB Congress we can say full of pride that the trade unions of the German Democratic Republic, as the loyal combat allies of the party, have actively contributed to shaping this policy. [applause] For this policy means workers' policy. It is a policy for and with the people. It spells peace, social security and safety, freedom and democratic co-determination of the people; it means respect for the dignity of man, the guaranteed right to work, to education, recreation and medical care; it means the equality of woman and the promotion of young people; constitutes the implementation of human rights in the German Democratic Republic. In no other and better way than the active support to this policy can we represent the interests of our more than 8 million trade union members. In no other and better way can we meet our responsibility as the most comprehensive class organization of the working class of the German Democratic Republic. The party program decided by the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has opened a grandiose perspective, a board field to the trade unions for their creative work. And it was on these bases that the firm confidence of the working class and of our people in our Socialist Unity Party of Germany developed. We are thanking the party of the working class, its Central Committee and its general secretary, our friend and comrade, Erich Honecker. [lasting applause, cheers]

Dear delegates, proceeding from the outstanding results, the rich experiences gathered in the process of work and the fresh requirements the Ninth Party Congress stipulated the goals for further developing our German Democratic Republic. It adopted the historically significant decision on the further holding of the advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic and, in so doing, it created favorable conditions for the gradual transition to communism. The high demand placed on the leading role of the working class in the implementation of its historic mission becomes clearly manifest in the words proclaimed by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Honecker. He said [that for] what has been scientifically established by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the manifesto of the Communist Party, for what the party of Lenin is setting the great example to us, and for what the best of the German working class have fought and suffered will become reality for us. We, dear colleagues, the trade unionists of the German Democratic Republic, face up to this truly revolutionary task for which we will be fighting with passion and devotion under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. [applause]

Being the organization of the ruling class, the trade unions in the further stage of our social development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism are called upon, as the schools of socialism and communism, as the representatives of the interests of the working class and all working people, to develop creative activity, socialist working, learning and living of millions of trade unionists in such a way that the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin will be more and more coining life in our beautiful socialist country and will find their completion. We will advance on this road unswervingly and resolutely, for that is the road of freedom and humanity. [prolonged applause]

We do know imperialism, we are conversant with suppression and exploitation, the degradation of man under the domination of capital. Over there an elementary right, such as the right to work, is being crushed under foot every day in the interest of profit. Under this system of bondage, in which all human values are being distorted, vocational bans and ideological snooping are flourishing. It is over there where man at the age of 45 is already thrown in the discard. It is there where youth is deprived of any perspective. Equality of women is a farce. They do not get the same wages for the same kind of work and are the first ones to lose their jobs. Those who noisily are talking about human rights today are the very same who were waging a cruel war of extermination against the Vietnamese people. The fascist regime in Chile is being supported. It is by force and shocking terror that the peoples in the south of Africa are being prevented from taking their fates into their own hands in a free self-determination. Instead of respecting the principles of peaceful coexistence, one interferes with the internal affairs of other states, stirs up revanchist agitation, a wicked anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria and dares to teach lessons on human rights. This is the world of the monopoly capital.

It stands, dear colleagues, opposite to our world of real socialism, to our decisions of the Eighth and Ninth SED Party Congresses to do everything for the weal of the working class and the entire people. Never again will anybody be in a position of shaking this sound edifice of socialism in the German Democratic Republic. We will not allow this to anybody, irrespective of whence he comes and whither he wants to go. [sustained applause]

We are shaping the advanced socialist society and are marching ahead into the bright future of communism. The foundation we rely on is firmly cemented. We act in conformity with the objective laws of development in our epoch, the era of worldwide transition from capitalism to communism. It is for this reason that we are strengthening the material, social, and intellectual-cultural bases of socialism. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism we are consolidating the unity of action in class solidarity with all anti-capitalist forces struggling for freedom, democracy and social progress. Everything we are working for, what we are aiming at for the happiness of our people can only blossom in peace. We consider it a fundamental task of trade unionist representation of interest to fight for its safeguarding and securing. We advocate a constantly growing contribution of the international trade-union movement being made in the great, worldwide peace struggle, for peace is the supreme good of mankind.

Dear delegates and guests, the year 1977 is the year of the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. With the shot fired by the Aurora and the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution almost six decades ago the new era in the history of mankind was ushered in. Our century does not know of any more important event. All the social and national liberations, all the victories of the forces of peace and socialism emanated from it. Under the leadership of the party of Lenin the Russian proletariat set out to implement the historic mission of the working class in alliance with the peasants and other strata of the working people. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become a reality in one sixth of the world.

Since then the Soviet people, under the leadership of its Communist Party, have performed heroic pioneer feats for the progress of all peoples. The last 10 years of this struggle are of particular significance. Peace has become stronger and is being protected more reliably. The policy of detente has made its way. The principles of peaceful coexistence have ever stronger prevailed in international relations among states having different social order. These successes have been attained under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its Central Committee, with Leonid Brezhnev on its top, for the benefit of the whole of humanity. [applause] Therefore, we express our cordial thanks to our Soviet friends and comrades, particularly to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. [applause]

By smashing Hitlerite fascism in its own cave during the great patriotic war the sons of Red October brought freedom to our people, too. They opened to us the road toward a happy life in peace and socialism. The development

and growing of our worker and peasant power are forever linked with the indestructible friendship with the Soviet people. We will protect this friendship like the apple of our own eyes. [applause] From our Ninth FDGB Congress we extend greetings to our Soviet class comrades and with them further great victories on the road toward a communist society. [applause]

Dear colleagues: The key task forming a unity of economic and social policy, as approved by the Eighth SED Congress, has been placed into the center of trade union work by the trade unions. A further raising of the material and cultural living standard of the people on the basis of a high development pace in socialist production, of the increase in efficiency of scientific-technological progress, and of the increase in labor productivity provides the basis for our trade union activity in our worker and peasant state. The unity of economic and social policy pursuing the goal of doing everything for the benefit of the working class and the entire population corresponds profoundly to the essence of socialism. It directly contributes to raising the power and superiority of socialism and its international influence. Working for a persistent fulfillment of the key task is the best way of representing the trades union interests.

Only the socialist society guarantees that growing labor performance and progress in production as well as the utilizing of science and technology benefit the working class and all other working people. The great upswing of the creative mass initiative is resting on the knowledge that constant economic growth provides the decisive basis for a higher material and cultural living standard of the people. The directive of the key task initiated the most successful period in the more than 3-year-long development of the Free German Trade Union Federation. We contributed to closely combining the economic development with a better satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people. This demanded patient and realistic political and ideological work, in order to achieve a profound understanding of the key task, since this task in many respects requires a new approach toward the economic, sociopolitical, cultural and intellectual problems. We have always been guided by the knowledge that the better the life of the people, the happier they are, the stronger will become their links to the socialist homeland, the more consciously and actively they will work for the manifold development of their socialist state. Thus there is a direct connection between the guideline of the key task and the persistent strengthening of our socialist homeland.

With the active participation of the trade unions a sociopolitical program has been purposefully developed which is the greatest one in the history of our people. In the year of the Ninth Party Congress alone living conditions for about a total of 5.6 million workers and workers veterans have considerably improved. Thus, among other things, wages for some 1.4 million workers with low incomes increased as of 1 October 1976. As of 1 December 1976 the payments for some 3.4 million pensioners have considerably increased. Generous measures became effective for the further promotion of working mothers, for the prolonging of vacations for pregnant women and for the

lying-in period from 18 to 26 weeks--following the birth of the second and of every following child working mothers have the possibility of being freed from work while receiving pay up to the completion of the first year of life of the child. During 1976, 150,617 new apartments were built and/or modernized. Thus better living conditions have been provided for about a half million citizens of our country.

As of 1 January of this year all working people regularly working on shifts obtained an additional leave of 3 days. And as of 1 May the number of working people working after the 40-hour workweek increased to 1.1 million. At the same time, the weekly worktime for nearly 600,000 two-shift workers was in June reduced to 42 hours. For the first time some 24,000 employees in the public education sector will obtain an additional annual pay. In the first month of this year 5,000 young married couples have taken a bank credit. Thus the number of interest-free credits, which have been granted since 1972 for promoting young married couples, increased to a total of about 366,000 with a volume of more than 1.9 billion marks. In connection with the birth of children 265 million marks were exempted from this amount, 80 percent of all first marriages between 18 and 26 years are starting their joint life with this generous state support. This clearly testifies to the magnitude of what had been approved by the Ninth SED Party Congress in the field of social policy, and what benefits the people of our country. In this we must be aware time and again of the fact that already in the five-year period during the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses we have implemented more than 60 social policy measures.

What a tremendous social and likewise economic accomplishment: what an impressive evidence of the fact that the policy of the party is put into practice by the feats of the people because it is for the welfare of the people. [applause] Thus it becomes evident in the eyes of the whole world as to how we successfully are shaping the advanced socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. All this was possible because we created the conditions--according to the main task--by means of a high pace of development in socialist production, the rise in effectivity of the scientific-technical progress and the growth of the productivity of labor. We let ourselves be guided by the incontestable truth that we can consume only what we have obtained through work. The ideological process of clarification and this basic truth of our lives as well as the improvement of working and living conditions noticeable for everyone have freed great potentials in the socialist competition. The initiatives of competition of the workers have reached an extent and quality as never before in unionist work. They reflect the grown socialist consciousness of the working class and all workers. We thank all unionists of the German Democratic Republic for the unprecedented accomplishment in the framework of socialist competition. [applause]

This impetus in socialist competition was of great significance in perfecting the leading role of the working class in state and society and in further developing socialist democracy. For socialist democracy to a large extent is the creative activity of the working class; it is its ally in

development of the economy and living conditions. The successful work of the trade unions is the result of the Marxist-Leninist relations between the party of the working class and the unions in the German Democratic Republic. The interactions in these relations enabled the biggest class organization to reach a high level in its activity. The experience of the past few years has made it clear that the Free German Trade Union Federation was able to reach its most significant impetus in safeguarding the interests (of its members) at a time when the leading role of the working class emerged more prominently on account of the policy of the Eighth SED Party Congress. During this period the relations between the party and the trade unions have deepened. For the millions of members of our organization the great help and support on the part of the SED were visible at all times. [applause] The close link between the party of the working class and the unions was confirmed anew in an impressive manner by the union elections in preparation of the Ninth Congress of the FDGB. They testified to the great willingness of the members to help implement the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress through exemplary accomplishments.

The progress of election rallies was characterized by a high degree of participation and by lively discussions. The creative and objective exchange of views by millions of union members on the tasks to be solved resulted in a great number of new ideas and initiatives. This became also manifest by the discussion on the draft labor code in recent weeks. The instruction given by the Eighth SED Party Congress to continue to develop our industrial law in accordance with the requirements of the main task and to help workers get a better understanding of it has been fulfilled. The draft labor code submitted to you takes into account the fundamental social progress which has taken place since the Eighth SED Congress. The provisions relating to industrial law reflect our historic process of development. They are marked by the leading role of the working class in our state. They do not only include the right to work but also define exactly how it is guaranteed in our socialist state. They express in legal terms the way our life is being insured socially, the way man in the socialist society can materialize his creative existence in social security. The labor code of the German Democratic Republic promotes socialist democracy, strengthens the role of unions and develops the system of laws and legal security. The wide-ranging discussion on the draft labor code is a new and impressive practical proof of the democratic participation of working people in the shaping of our socialist society. They have expressed their approval of the bill and confirmed the conformity of views and interests of union members with the extended provisions regarding industrial law. In this connection the political avowal to the policy of our party and government which is aimed at the well-being of the people has been bolstered many times by new initiatives and commitments in competition: 187,806 proposals, instructions and requests have been submitted. This included 39,533 amendments and supplementary proposals, which all in all resulted in 90 modifications of contents and 144 editorial modifications of the draft. Dear colleagues, we are fully justified in saying that the draft labor code at hand bears the handwriting of the working class and all working people of the German Democratic Republic. [applause]

Simultaneously it confirms the fact that socialist industrial law, and in particular the labor code, is a focal point of socialist legal order and of our union [1 minute transmitter failure].

[Passage indistinct] friendship with the Soviet Union which has always been and will always remain a model of socialist trade union policy as far as we are concerned. Cooperation with all unions in the fraternal socialist countries has been intensified. Under the banner of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of the working class, the FDGB works incessantly for joint actions of the international trade union movement. It grants active support to the initiatives and activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Trying to assess the extensive activity of unions in safeguarding the interests of working people during the past 5 years, we can say now that the unions have worthily fulfilled the tasks set by the eighth congress. [applause]

Dear colleagues, with this in mind we now turn to the tasks which must be solved today and in the years to come. During our ninth congress, achievements made in our trade union work so far will have to be thoroughly analyzed and judged, and further tasks must be discussed and identified. Along with the growing role of the working class, the responsibility and influence of trade unions in all fields of social life regularly increases in the further development of our evolved socialist society. Trade unions are a fundamental force of our state of workers, and peasants the decisive instrument of the working class in fulfilling its historic mission. With their activity the unions promote the process of social convergence of classes and strata which is an objective reality. They contribute to consolidation of the alliance between the working class and cooperative farmers and develop in manifold ways the creative cooperation between workers and members of the intelligentsia. For the sake of the constant perfection of material, social and intellectual-cultural foundations of our society, as defined by the main task, they mobilize the creative powers of the working class and of all working people. Political ideological work, the core of trade union activities, is and remains aimed at making the Marxist-Leninist ideology determine the thoughts and actions of the working people. Trade unions play a decisive role in making the characteristic features of the socialist way of life emerge more and more clearly.

The socialist way of life, dear colleagues, embraces the entire wealth of human existence: work and spare time; relations with the work collective, within the family and the neighborhood; our joys and problems; our everyday life. During the Ninth SED Congress Comrade Honecker said that the conscious striving for good economic results, the conscientious and honest work for the society, is the core of the socialist way of life. This includes participation in the management and settlement of social affairs and is closely linked to a high standard of Marxist-Leninist and professional education, extensive intellectual-cultural needs, a healthy style of living, physical culture and sports, and last not least to socialist work culture.

The socialist way of life embraces love and mutual respect, understanding and helpfulness, marital and family relations based on the joint responsibility for the children. Confidence and frankness, comradeship, sincerity and the critical discussion of inadequacies determine the atmosphere of human relations. Heartlessness and ruthlessness, hypocrisy and selfishness, let alone infringements and antisocial behavior, are alien to the socialist way of life. The socialist way of life is based on personalities whose thoughts and actions are marked by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. This includes support of the revolutionary cause of the working class, loyalty to socialism and the willingness to protect and defend its achievements. These are high moral and ethic demands. We can say that the best collectives and personalities of socialist work make these high demands the standard of their life. This is why in recent years the movement "Socialist working, learning and living" has secured a solid place in our trade union work. The number of persons taking part in this movement has increased from 3.1 million to almost 4.3 million since the Eighth FDGB Congress. But the growth has not been confined to an increase in quantity; there has been an enrichment of its substance. This has made this movement as manifold and broad as life itself.

The close connection between model performances, socialist competition and the high moral-ethical and political-ideological claims of the socialist way of life become manifest more and more. Based on substantial cultural and education plans, the vast majority of collectives produce activities of their own in the intellectual-cultural field, and arrange their spare time according to socialist principles. Everyone displays more intolerance toward phenomena which are not in line with the duties of a conscientious and responsible approach to work and with standards of socialist conduct. Thus, our social development is linked in the closest possible way to the development of socialist personalities and collectives, to the new relations between people and their environment. This is a positive development which must be promoted further by all trade union leaderships. Dear colleagues, the organization of socialist competition is one of the most important tasks facing the trade unions. This is an important part of our entire trade union work. Correct organization brings to light the way we implement the main task, the unity of economic and social policy.

Socialist competition clearly reflects the leading role of the working class and its increasing responsibility for the all-round strengthening and consolidation of our socialist state. By their direct participation in socialist competition, working people take an active and conscious part in the management and planning of the economy. Socialist competition is aimed at enhancing the quality and effectiveness of production and raising labor productivity while at the same time improving working and living conditions. It is an important source of the aware approach to work, of the development of socialist personalities and of enterprise, creative urge and a sense of social responsibility. The achievements performed in competition during the years following the Eighth SED Congress prove that we have a great potential in the creative feats of working people.

The great work done by the working people in preparing and responding to the Ninth SED Congress under the slogan "Greater economic effectiveness from out of every mark, every hour of worktime and every gram of material, for the fulfillment and systematic overfulfillment of plan tasks and complementary-plan targets," clearly testifies to this. For instance, plan targets in industrial goods production were exceeded by M2.6 billion in 1976, the first year of the current five-year plan. This year workers' collectives in their competition resolutions have undertaken to fulfill complementary-plan targets amounting to M1.8 billion in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the first 4 months of this year, plan targets including complementary-plan commitment for industrial goods production in industry were surpassed by M285 million. Many factors of our social development overlap in the solution of economic tasks, political, ideological and social factors. Ultimately the decision on the victory of the new social order will be made in the field of economy, as Lenin teaches us. That is why it is so important that we have scored good economic successes in the years since the Eighth SED Congress.

Year after year the plan tasks have been surpassed. This has enabled us to head for high targets in all fields of the national economy by 1980. In 1980 a national income of M182 billion is to be produced. This is approximately M40 billion more than in 1975. In recent years already we made considerable efforts toward perfecting the material-technological basis of our national economy. This is a prerequisite for the further development of socialist society in general. In this connection socialist intensification is and remains the main basis on which we build our national economy purposefully and systematically. It is a basic principle of socialist economy. Intensification in even greater dimensions is also necessary because we are faced with increasing strains owing to the increase in costs for raw-material utilization as well as rising prices on the world market; and what is more, we have no major manpower reserves at our disposal. In 1980 alone we will invest an amount of more than M50 billion which will be used primarily for the enhancement of socialist intensification.

The plan figures indicate that in all important fields of the national economy we will have to cope with new orders of magnitude in this five-year plan period. Why do we pose such high, pretentious goals for ourselves? Primarily because every one of us would like to see our life becoming constantly better and more beautiful, because every one of us would like to see our socialist homeland further blossom. The stronger our republic the weightier our contribution to the struggle of the peoples for a life in peace and freedom, without oppression and exploitation, for a life in social security and safety. Because we do want all this we are prepared to work well for this, to do everything to make possible a systematic and dynamic growth of the productive forces.

We are struggling for the all-round fulfillment of our plans at every workplace, in every decade, every month, every quarter. This means that what matters is a fulfillment of the production tasks according to quality,

assortment, and delivery schedule requirements. The contractually agreed delivery commitments must be strictly kept. This is the angle from which the trade unions regard the five-year plan 1976-1980 as a political and ideological fighting program. This is why we are orientating socialist competition toward implementation of the 10 factors of intensification listed by Comrade Erich Honecker. They determine its content.

Point number one is and remains the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. Practice confirms that enterprises and combines which develop scientific-technical progress on the basis of continuous and long-term planning are stable and efficient partners in our national economy. We do have such enterprises and combines in all sectors of our national economy and in all districts. These include, for example, the Herbert Warnke mechanical working technology combine, Erfurt, the Ernst Thaelman heavy machine construction combine, Magdeburg, the Werra-Merkers potash combine, the Wilhelm Pieck Mansfeld combine, the housing-constructions combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt and Neubrandenburg, the Wilhelm Pieck chemical fiber combine, Schwarza, the Narva light bulb works, Berlin, the Leipzig wool-combing plant, and many others.

These enterprises have a good name in our republic and in many countries of the world. The workers, engineers, technologists and economists working there may justly take pride in it.

It is correct if we systematically generalize for intensification the experiences gained here in the utilization of all potentials of science and technology. This is first of all a task which the central executive boards of the industrial trade unions and trade unions must tackle with even greater persistence. In the field of science and technology we must step up the speed in general. At the same time it is necessary to achieve international top positions in selected fields, in economically important products and technologies.

This is the most significant part of the fight for the full success of the five-year plan. What we consider top achievements in selected fields has been practiced by scientists, workers and engineers of the Karl-Zeiss-Jena VEB in developing and producing a number of new products, by the fine steel plant "8 May" of Freital which has built the first 30-ton plasma smelting furnace of the world, and by many tool and machinebuilding plants. Outstanding achievements have been made by the Eberswalde crane builders, the shipbuilders of the Stralsund People's Shipyard and collectives of many small and medium-size enterprises. We need many products which will stand their ground on the world market thanks to their high quality. We need them for export, for intensifying our agriculture, and for supplying our economy with high-quality consumer goods.

Accelerated scientific-technical progress places great demands on trade union members employed with science, development, projection, construction and technology. From their work, their courageous penetration in new fields, and their courage in solving new scientific problems, devisive impulses

will emanate for the speed of intensification. This pertains to basic research as well as to applied research. Close and planned cooperation between scientific installations and industrial enterprises has stood its test. The Academy of Sciences with its institutes is maintaining many concrete relations with combines and enterprises of the German Democratic Republic.

Stable cooperation agreements, for instance, exist between the Karl-Marx University and the Leipzig VEB plant, the Otto von Guericke technical high school of Magdeburg, and the Ernst Thaelmann and Karl Liebknecht heavy machinery plants, the Humboldt University and the Narva VEB bulb plant in Berlin. This is most profitable for the economy. But the possibilities of such productive cooperation have not been fully exploited at all. We believe, therefore, that a significant task in the competition between scientific installations is the further intensification of cooperation with plants and research centers of industry and agriculture.

In this sense the FDGB will develop its good relations with the Academy of Sciences and the Chamber of Technology. In preparation for the Ninth FDGB Congress a joint discussion of the FDGB Federal Executive Board and the GDR Academy of Sciences was taking place. It demonstrated the outstanding achievements of our scientists performed in many fields. Again it was confirmed that science and technology are not merely a matter of scientist, engineer or technologist. Without intensive cooperation and thinking as well as the rich experience of our highly qualified working class it is impossible to make the results of scientific-technical research economically fully effective.

It certainly is not the task of trade union managements to conclude research contracts with combines, enterprises or scientific installations. This is the task of state and economic organs. But it is the task of trade union management to see to it that this cooperation will take a special place on competition decisions. This ought to be effectively supported by industry and trade union central executive boards and by bezirk executive boards. In plants and combines it pertains to cooperation between production preparation departments and productive work collectives. This must be so to speak a permanent and natural principle of work.

Dear colleagues, we are stressing the necessity of stepping up scientific-technical progress so much because it penetrates all other factors of intensification. If all (!!) intensification factors will be exploited in a complex way, always new sources will be discovered for the growth of our gross national product. This goal is characteristic of socialist competition. Its insistent implementation will permit putting out significant products for our economy. Great efficiency reserves must be disclosed by scientific organization of work. The most significant lesson learned from all experience made so far is the following: scientific organization of work can be mastered successfully only if the working people have been included in this process from the very beginning. Wise material economy is a significant intensification factor and a necessity for our economic development.

Good experience of joint work of plants and scientific installations, such as that of the Sachsen plant in Niedersedlitz with the Central Institute for Solid Body Physics and Material Research, must be generalized. In developing a new pressure-smelting procedure for magnetic parts of forms, the working people there achieved a 70-percent material saving quota. This was done with less worktime and the quality of the product was improved.

Trade union members expect state managements to give them better planning possibilities for economizing material. This includes exact orientation data and specific data contained in science and technology planning and exact and flexible material consumption norms. These are significant prerequisites for measurable and accountable commitments of every work collective. We will also in the future promote the efforts of many collectives aimed at planned overfulfillment of the plan with saved material. Using and exploiting the basic funds properly is in accord with our goal of achieving a greater practical effect from every mark of our economic investment property.

In every work hour of our industry a production value of more than 1100 million is being created. Every kind of better exploitation of basic means, therefore, is a gain of our society and of every individual. Intensified work in several shifts is of great significance in this connection. The present state of exploiting shifts, particularly of highly productive milking machines and installations, is differentiated and as a whole not yet satisfactory measured by the demands of economic sensibility and socialist economizing.

In this connection we are aware that the increase in shiftwork is no simple problem but requires manifold considerations, thorough preparation, and broad cooperation of the working people. It requires convincing political-ideological work, and necessitates the solution of many problems in the enterprise and territory up to the moral and material recognition of the shiftworkers.

Another question, dear colleagues, is the reduction in the idle and waiting time. Here, too, considerable reserves can be found. This is why the trade unions promote all activities of the work collectives under socialist competition which will lead to better utilization of the productive equipment within the worktime through good work discipline. Tested methods for better utilization of the machines, installations and worktime are the notes on the plan and initiative shifts. With them the workers uncover and show manifold reserves.

It must be the concern of all trade union executive boards to advocate persistently the goal of making these reserves take effect in production everywhere too. The initiatives of outstanding worker personalities and socialist collectives having determined competition since the Eighth FDGB Congress are so effective because they are directly aimed at implementation of the factors of intensification. Characteristic of this are such initiatives as that of Hero of Labor Karl-Heinz Huebner of the

Fuerstenwalde tire factory who was the first to take notes on the plan; such as those of the heroes of labor Horst Franke and Gerd Pfeiffer, as well as of technologist Horst Eisner of the Elbtalwerk enterprise; Heidenau, who developed the personally creative plans on the increase in labor productivity; such as that of Hero of Labor Margarethe Koch of the Schwarza chemical fiber combine who is working after the motto: Whoever wants to buy quality must produce quality. Her initiative was taken up by boring mill operator Anton Schwez of the Halle pump works and further developed by Berlin working girl Erika Steinfuehrer of the Narva light bulb factory who has coined the slogan: Everybody delivers quality to everybody--a claim which all have on all.

This leads to greater requirements in complex competition and greater requirements of managerial work. They are the starting point for the competition of all sharing in the manufacture of a product within the enterprise, ranging from the designing department up to quality control, and beyond the enterprise between the final producer and supplier enterprise. The example of salesgirl Christina (?Holste) of the Centrum Department Store in Magdeburg also belongs in the series of these initiatives toward honest and conscientious work for the benefit of our society and to the satisfaction of our citizens.

The [word indistinct] of our construction industry, among them the heroes of labor Leo (?Kapalschinsky) of the Potsdam housing construction combine and Manfred Boettcher of the Rostock housing construction combine, Benno Radke of the Berlin housing construction combine, bearer of the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold, have essentially enriched the competition in the construction sector of our republic. Belonging in this series, finally, are the initiators for the agricultural, foodstuffs and forestry sectors, among them pig-breeder Erika Paulig of the (?Kalkreith) and Hero of Labor Horst Ludwig of the Rostock amelioration combine.

With the initiative "shift guarantee" the working people of the Leuna Works have tackled a question concerning the further enhancement of effectiveness and productivity which appears in most of our enterprises. They not only assume a great responsibility for the results of their own work but at the same time reveal a share in the responsibility for a high output of the other colleagues as well. How often do we hear that work is enjoyable if there is no idle time!

Yes, we do have reserves in many enterprises. The Leuna Works, for example, have found a way of reducing idle and waiting periods and simultaneously creating greater joy in work through the improvement in organization of production. The initiative "forty" emerged in the Hildburghausen screw and standard parts enterprise for the purpose of implementing the socio-political measures adopted by the Ninth SED Congress, such as the introduction of the 40-hour workweek for three-shift workers effective 1 May this year. It is expressive of the way in which social progress promotes the initiative of the working people and leads to greater economic feats.

Dear colleagues, the best innovators of the enterprises are working more intensively than before on solution of the plans on science and technology in socialist workteams. Just like we support the initiative of the collectives for innovator work on the basis of innovator agreements, we support the proposals of individual innovators. The participation of the working people in the innovator movement has increased from 23.5 percent in 1972 to 31 percent in 1976. The share of women in the innovator movement during the same period increased from (21.4) percent to 22.3 percent, and that of the youth from 27.2 to 38.6 percent. In this period 2.6 million innovations were introduced in production. The innovators thus produced an overall profit of more than M17.5 billion during these 5 years. This is a result which cannot be valued highly enough. [applause]

We deem it appropriate that the central executive boards of the industrial trade unions and unions, in cooperation with the economic organs, extend active help in the speedy generalization of tested innovations and competition methods. The exchange of experiences continues to be the least expensive investment.

Dear colleagues, the work of the youth as the posterity of the leading class of our country is doing exemplary work under socialist competition, in the vocational competition in which the economic initiatives of the free German youth have found their firm place. The movement of the Fair of the Masters of tomorrow, the initiatives toward saving worktime, the FDJ drive for material austerity, have enriched the competition and contributed to the upbringing of young socialist personalities. Among them are such outstanding workers as Doris Kersten, large-circular knitter of Cottbus, decorated with the Order Banner of Labor; Renate Auke, Hero of Labor of the Riesa steel and rolling mill; Bodo Rademann, young activist of the Ernst Thaelmann Youth Mine of the Wismut Soviet-German corporation. We are convinced that we can reckon with the energy and passion, the innovator spirit of the youth and its organization, the free German youth, in coping with the pretentious targets of the five-year plan up to 1980. [applause]

The tested and successful joint work of the FDGB and the FDJ will continue to be aimed at promoting the education of young people to become active and aware builders of socialism and communism. Our full support will be given to youth brigades. With their initiative "A good balance every day," the Kaiser Youth Brigade of construction workers from the Ninth Precinct of the capital is continuing the revolutionary traditions of youth brigades in the 60th year of Red October. These young workers are leading a wide youth movement in the GDR. Youth brigades always prove to be pioneers of the new in socialist competition, centers of communist education and intellectual-cultural life, and an inexhaustible reserve of cadres of our class organization.

Our particular attention will be focused on central youth objects where extraordinary achievements have been made, such as by the youth collectives at the "Druzhba" pipeline. We are thus making our contribution to the

proposal outlined by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th FDJ parliament meeting to achieve a new upswing in the youth brigade movement and to organize a youth brigade day in enterprises every year during the week of youth and sportsmen.

Dear colleagues, initiative and creative force do not develop spontaneously. The new approach to work will grow in line with our ability to struggle daily for this new approach. Leading socialist competition in a political way, therefore, means productively applying the Leninist principles of competition management: constant comparison of results in public, practical repeat of best achievements in [word indistinct] as well as material and moral recognition.

Implementation of Helsinki Document

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 77 pp 3-5 AU

[From the report delivered by Harry Tisch, chairman of the Federal Executive of the FDGB and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, at the Ninth FDGB Congress in Berlin on 16 May; referent item, processed from live relay, has been edited for NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publication; following excerpts are significant passages not contained in live relay]

[Excerpts] The new climate which has emerged in Europe and the initiated process of detente create favorable conditions for the further normalization of the relations between trade unions of different orientation and membership in international trade union associations. The will of trade unions to contribute to implementation of the Helsinki final document in its entirety is growing ever stronger. The FDGB has taken up many initiatives in this spirit. We strive for normal international relations and good cooperation between trade unions of different orientation and membership in international trade union associations.

Sometimes our efforts for agreements on international trade union cooperation are countered from a certain side with the assertion that one cannot talk with us. To this we want to declare: but yes--one can talk with us! But the most important prerequisite for the success of trade union relations with one another is that they be approached from positions of good will. As far as we are concerned we would like to give this assurance: We will contribute this good will to every international trade union meeting.

The arms race stepped up by the aggressive forces of monopolist capital not only harbors tremendous dangers for the life and existence of the peoples, it also swallows up tremendous funds which could be used for resolving urgent social tasks. Progress in arms limitation would free tremendous possibilities to effectively combat unemployment, mass poverty, misery, hunger, sickness and lack of knowledge in extensive parts of the world.

So far, however, the situation is still that the ignoble alliance of influential armament monopolies and militarists of imperialism are putting up persistent resistance to all disarmament proposals. They are hypocritically raising a great clamor about an alleged Soviet threat. The armament madness is to be kept alive with the help of anticommunism. It is thus a permanent task of our international class policy to keep the enemies of detente in check and to unmask their policy. No trade union organization wanting seriously to represent the interests of its members can bypass this question.

In our opinion a contribution to activating the peace struggle could be an international trade union conference which would discuss the multifarious possibilities resulting from disarmament for improving the life of the working people and for raising social security.

In this connection the FDGB, proceeding from the position of defending the interests of the workers class and human rights, is against all attempts to falsify the nature of the Helsinki Final Document by mendacious interpretation and, in the spirit of a "thinking in baskets," to place questions relating to its parts above the whole issue, namely security and cooperation in Europe. Here one can only say: Be careful, gentlemen! Into this "basket," too, we have put more than you would like!

First steps have been taken along the path of multilateral cooperation of trade unions of different orientation and membership in international associations. This is manifested by the European Trade Union Conference, the meetings of industrial trade unions of different international memberships and their joint work for resolving questions of their specific branches.

The second European Trade Union Conference held at the beginning of March this year underscored again the value of such cooperation exceeding the framework of international organizations.

We declare again from the rostrum of our Ninth FDGB Congress: The FDGB is always and at all times loyal to proletarian internationalism siding with the workers class in the capitalist countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress! The FDGB supports the trade unions of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their just struggle for national independence of their peoples. In this we let ourselves be guided by Lenin's finding that the national liberation movement is the natural and objective alliance partner of world socialism and the international workers movement in the anti-imperialist struggle.

We can state in this connection that the international solidarity contributions of the FDGB have more than doubled in the period between the eighth and ninth FDGB congresses: While in 1972 it amounted to M55.3 million, in 1976 it was M123.4 million. The total of the international solidarity contributions of the FDGB in these 5 years amounted to almost half a billion marks.

We thank all our colleagues who, as shown by the solidarity coupons in their membership books, have professed their solidarity in such unanimity. They are thus acting in the spirit of our great vanguard fighter Karl Marx, who always opposed any narrow-minded limitation in the class struggle.

No Warmongering

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1835 GMT 19 May 77 DW

[Excerpts from final address by FDGB chairman Harry Tisch to Trade Union Congress in Berlin--recorded]

[Text] The discussion reflected thousands of ideas and opinions as well as creative ideas on our work in implementing the decisions of the ninth party congress. The discussion was optimistic, factual, constructive and concrete. A balance was drawn of the own work. Tasks and problems were mentioned and suggestions were made how to improve work even more. Our ninth congress was a great democratic forum of experience exchanged between trade union members, shop stewards and members of managements and executive boards. Yes, it was a forum of the working class and its ally, the German Democratic Republic.

What must be stressed particularly? The FDGB members jointly and unitedly support the goal of shaping evolved socialism passionately and devotedly under the leadership of the party of the working class and of determinately embarking on the road to the communist future. [applause] It was evident in every contribution to the discussion that the unity of party and trade unions was further deepened and characterized by mutual confidence and respect. We learned from Comrade Erich Honecker that our party greatly appreciated our work. [applause] This makes us gay and happy, giving us a new impetus to do an even better job. I am certainly expressing the ideas and feelings of all delegates in thanking cordially the comrades of party and statement leadership and particularly the general secretary for having attributed so much attention to our congress and its discussions. [strong applause] For this, dear comrades of the party and government leadership, we will give you a firm trade union handshake. [applause]

Nobody ever will succeed in driving a wedge between the party and the trade unions. It was most impressively confirmed in the cause of the congress that implementing the main task is the best way to represent the interests of trade unions; this is why we concentrate our work on it. It is the best representation because the wealth we are creating that way is the property of the people. It does not flow into the pockets of monopoly masters and shareholders. The higher our national income, the better will be the possibilities of improving our life.

It was correctly understood that permanently improving life presupposes further dynamic developments of our economy.

Dear delegates, esteemed guests. Our congress was impressive evidence of the fact how in this state, in our German Democratic Republic, the people are governing the people. A few dozens of journalists of bourgeois papers, television and radio stations of the FRG and other capitalist countries are attending our congress. They could convince themselves how workers, artists, scientists, pedagogues and trade union members discussed all issues determining the policy of our state. Their reportage shows that they could not ignore our congress, although their reports often did not reflect the truth. We are not overestimating this. Let them write and agitate as much as they want to. They cannot impress us that way. [applause]

But if you honestly aim for detente and good normal relations on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence, if you want to implement the final document of Helsinki by letter and spirit--and this has been constantly said--it would be good to inform the working class and the people of the FRG factually and objectively. [applause] Instead of reporting about the real contents of our congress, they write about suits we are wearing and dialects we are speaking. [laughter] This is remarkable information. [laughter]

Friends, whether you have been speaking in the dialect of Mecklenburg, Berlin or Saxony, this was the language of a class uniformly organized in the FDGB and oriented toward a clear goal. [applause] We have discussed the draft of our new labor code for months. Where do the trade unions or a trade union congress in the so-called free world have the opportunity to discuss such a decisive draft and to exert legislative initiative? Some people on the other side of the Elbe are bold enough to state that the contents of the new labor code is just a sheet of paper. [laughter] They say that codetermination of trade unions does not exist in the GDR. You can just say to that: "These people have understood nothing, nothing at all, and it seems that they do not want to understand." These gentlemen ought to compare our draft of the labor code with the FRG law on enterprise constitutions. The FRG law on enterprise constitutions prohibits political activity of shop stewards in enterprises. They are prohibited to do anything which could upset "peace in the enterprise"--in quotation marks. But who determines what "peace in the enterprise" is? The entrepreneur, the capitalist decides what is upsetting peace in the enterprise. We know many examples where trade union functionaries have been terminated without notice because they have been acting in the interest of their colleagues, thus upsetting so-called peace in the enterprise according to the opinion of the capitalists--a fine democracy. Neither in an enterprise nor outside of it there exist true democratic conditions under capitalism.

In our country no problems of enterprises, of the territory, or of the state are being decided without agreement of trade unions. And the claim of being the master of the house, as represented by entrepreneurs and masters of monopoly, has landed in the German Democratic Republic decades ago on the garbage heap of history. [applause] This is historic truth. True democracy and freedom have been a vivid fact again here in the Palace of the Republic. We agree with all delegates and guests that not permitting anybody ever to pursue warmongering and revanchist activities on the soil of our worker-peasant state is part of our democracy. [applause]

It really is alarming if you listen to speeches recently held in the FRG Bundestag. These are speeches like in the times of the Cold War. This is a dangerous game. In the interest of peace and its preservation, in the interest of security and detente, we must decidedly counteract this. [applause]

We assure all those fighting for social progress, for the rights of the working people in all the world, of our fraternal solidarity. [applause] Let us muster all our strength, all our knowledge and skills, for seeing that our socialist fatherland further strengthens and blossoms. Let us do everything for the weal and the happiness of the working class and of all working people, for the benefit of the whole people. Let us, from this congress, go to work with the determination to do everything for the glory and honor of our socialist homeland, the German Democratic Republic. [long, strong applause]

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER ADDRESSES TRADE UNION CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 May 77 pp 3-4 AU

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the Ninth FDGB Congress in Berlin on 17 May]

[Text] Dear colleagues! dear comrades and friends!

Permit me to convey to you, the delegates of the Ninth FDGB Congress, the cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee. (strong applause; cheers for the general secretary of the SED Central Committee) Our party regards your deliberations as an event of outstanding importance for further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. The FDGB with its 8 million members is a tremendous force. You, the delegates, come from all spheres of working life of our country. Your congress is characterized by creativity, a spirit of innovation and the political experience of the workers, employees and members of the intelligentsia, of all working people. We are certain that the results of your discussions will awaken valuable initiatives in the further implementation of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress and thus of our common cause of socialism and peace. (strong applause)

The report of the FDGB Federal Executive delivered by Comrade Harry Tisch and the discussion show an impressive picture of the multifarious work of our trade unions, of their feats and their outstanding contribution to socialist construction work. The members of the FDGB are resolving day after day with diligence and engagement the frequently not easy tasks in the various sectors of our construction work. In socialist competition the working people are performing great feats in the spirit of our policy for the benefit of man. They honor the 60th anniversary of Red October by strengthening the GDR. For this I wish to express from this rostrum to all working people from the bottom of my heart the gratitude of the Central Committee and of our party. (strong, prolonged applause)

The trade unions are proving time and again their worth as the schools of socialism and communism. Their work is an essential part of the exercise of power by the workers class and its allies. The SED will also in the future support the trade unions with all its authority. You can always proceed from the fact that the role of the trade unions in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and in creating the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism will grow.

Dear colleagues! Tomorrow exactly 1 year will have passed since the Ninth SED Congress convened. The time elapsed is an outstanding confirmation of the correctness of its decisions. The life of our people has continued to develop for the good despite the deep crisis of capitalism and its international effects. We have made a great step forward in solving the main task of doing everything for the benefit of man. The beginning of the current five-year plan was mastered well.

While inflation and unemployment go on in the countries of capital, while only declarations of intent can be heard regarding the overcoming of the crisis, socialism is bringing its advantages increasingly to the fore, and social security and safety are determining the daily life of our people.
(strong applause)

As a result of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress the GDR has continued its stable and dynamic development. The unity of economic and social policy has increasingly proved itself as a strong and reliable motive force for our advance. The improvements in the working and living conditions which were achieved are firmly based on the increased performance of our national economy.

The working people and all citizens are justly proud that the GDR holds a firm position among the first 10 industrial nations of the world. This is undoubtedly a result of our anchoring and cooperation in the socialist community of states. At the same time such a position of our country would be unthinkable without the great results of the work performed day after day and year after year by the people in town and country. They have chosen to set up socialism in our country and they are acting accordingly. This is the most important thing in our social life and everything depends on it. (strong applause)

Today we can already proceed from remarkable conditions for the existence of the working people: we have full employment and we guarantee job security. We have stable consumer prices and low rents, while wages and pensions are gradually increasing. In addition to social security there is a highly developed educational system, a broadly expanded health system, and increasingly better possibilities for leisure, culture and recreation. The economy is entirely geared to growth.

To put it briefly: we have a program of growth, prosperity and stability. This is worth working and fighting for as well as performing ever new deeds.
(strong prolonged applause)

Dear colleagues:

As you know, we have taken on many things for the coming few years. The 1976-1980 five-year plan gives an exhaustive reply to this. It provides aim and direction for the activities of our entire country and of every individual working man. In this plan further economic upswing and the implementation of our great sociopolitical program form a unity. As all of you know, the annual increase in labor productivity, envisaged by the plan, and its overfulfillment constitute the basis for solving such a great task as the construction of 750,000 or even 850,000, apartments in the years 1976-1980. The scope of this task is already explained by the mere fact that thus modern living space will be created for roughly another 2.5 million citizens. We are building from scrap tremendous industrial capacities to accomplish this goal. This will enable us to solve the housing problem as a social issue by 1990. We advocate that precisely in view of this unprecedented apartment building program the enterprises and thus the trade unions exert even more influence to see to it that increasingly more workers, above all, families with several children, move into our fine new apartments.

In the course of further improving the peoples' material and cultural standard of living, concurrently with the apartments, there are also emerging those trade facilities for supplying the citizens [with] polyclinics, sports facilities and indoor swimming pools, and other institutions which are making life under socialism increasingly more agreeable.

The growth of savings deposits is an eloquent expression of the confidence in our development and of the security which the citizens are experiencing. The average per-capita savings deposits among the population increased from M3,266 to almost M4,800 in 1977.

The gradual introduction of the 40-hour week, while retaining the 5-workday week; the minimum annual leave of 18 days for every working man; the increase in the average real income up to M9,580 annually by 1980; and the growth of the commodity supply up to some M100 billion while concurrently raising the quality of products--all these are tasks that take into consideration the fact that under socialism man is at the center of all events. (strong applause)

It is from our party's profound love for man, for the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and for all working people that flows the tremendous strength which enables implementation of the reality of the ideas of the great German thinkers and revolutionaries Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the realization of socialism in all its variety and its successful defense against its adversaries and its enemies. (strong, prolonged applause)

Dear colleagues, in our times the historic truism formulated in our party program is being conspicuously reaffirmed on German soil, the truism that only under socialism does the possibility open up for all members of

society to develop their creative capabilities, to acquire a high degree of education, to take advantage of their democratic rights and liberties and to develop their personality in an all-around manner. We will continue in an atmosphere of mutual trust and togetherness, mutual understanding and joint creative work in building our socialist present and future.

Dear colleagues,

We do not belong to those bourgeois ideologists who under the slogan "Man does not live by bread alone" put the working people on short rations and want to obstruct social progress.

It is not unknown that our sociopolitical program is based on a dynamic development of our national economy and on the great industriousness and resolve of the workers class and of its allies to achieve great performances. In 1980 a national income of more than M182 billion is to be produced,¹ that is, some M40 billion more than in 1975. It is necessary to master new production dimensions as quality and effectiveness rise constantly. In the last year of the current five-year plan the industrial commodity production will total more than M312 billion, that is, M79 billion more than in 1975.

The key to this growth is raising labor productivity. In 1980 output per worker in industry is to total an average of M90,400 as compared with M69,500 in 1975. The manufacture of high-quality products must rise substantially more rapidly than our production--and this is typical of our economic targets. In 1980 some M25 billion worth of products bearing the "Q" mark are to be manufactured. In 1975 M10 billion worth of such goods was produced.

The performance of our agriculture and foodstuff economy will also grow considerably. It is envisaged to achieve in 1980 in plant crop production 46-48 decitons per hectare in grain units.

The material-technical base of our national economy is being purposefully further strengthened to consistently secure good economic development also for the time following the current five-year period. Here billions are at stake on which depends how and by what means things will be produced, and what prerequisites there exist for increasingly better fulfilling the plans and counter-plans.

We all have enough experience and imagination to see the deep changes in daily life which lie behind such figures. And these are fast-moving times. The year 1980 is by no means in the distant future; it is approaching rapidly. Thus good use must be made of the hours and days, weeks and months.

1. The statements of values for the development up to 1980 are based on the prices of 1975.

As is known, the 1976 plan was successfully fulfilled and in general this good trend has continued through the last few months. This improves the prerequisites for resolving also the future tasks. The progress of our close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries work to the same end. At the same time we are confronted with the fact that a tremendous price increase is taking place in the capitalist states precisely in important industrial and agricultural raw materials, which we partly obtain from there. In the socialist countries, too, export and import prices for raw materials and for industrial and agricultural products have increased. We have to consider all these facts when determining the required increase in economic performance.

That means that the capitalist crisis affects us as well. We must counter-act this. Higher prices to be paid on our part for necessary imports require naturally that we must boost our exports to capitalist markets. As is known, this concerns not only our foreign trade officials but also the working people in all branches of our national economy.

The ninth congress of our party and the subsequent plenums of the Central Committee have made clear what is necessary in view of the changed foreign trade conditions to implement the main task according to plan. Fulfillment of the five-year plan targets is a fighting goal of primary importance, and we are certain that the trade unions will create in all labor collectives the atmosphere required for it. (strong applause) The socialist intensification of our production must be advanced with greatest determination. This requires primarily the acceleration of scientific-technical progress with all its consequences and the attainment of a particularly high performance in selected fields. In all work it is necessary to insure in this manner the best possible cost-output ratio. This is at the same time a principal question of our social policy. The owners of the means of production, the working people are interested in seeing to it that the best products are produced in the required amount. For this reason economic policy in our country is not only a matter for experts but is, in addition, also in the center of public interest.

Dear colleagues! To fully and entirely implement intensification as the main road of our economic progress is one of the most important tasks in developing the socialist planned economy. It concerns the thoughts and actions of millions of people. The active preparations for this congress and its progress confirm that the FDGB has understood its tasks, that its industrial trade unions are in the forefront of the struggle to further increase the material and cultural living standard of the working people on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production, of scientific-technical progress and high labor productivity.

During the last few months as activity of unprecedented scope has evolved to find new, economically valuable scientific-technical solutions and to introduce them in production. Not at the expense of the strength and the

health of the working people but through a scientific penetration of the labor process must economic performance be boosted. Together with the effectiveness of work, the conditions under which it is performed are also to be improved and its creative character is to come increasingly to the fore.

As shown by experience, economic progress is greatest where a high quality is insured and where at the same time production costs are tangibly lowered. One without the other is not enough. If we use more labor time or material than the international standard, it ultimately must be written off as a loss. In assessing the standard of our production and also in awarding the quality mark, we should, therefore, also consider the target figures for expenditures together with quality and usability. An increasingly greater, even decisive importance for all aspects of scientific-technical development must be attributed to technology. It is all the more important to overcome a certain neglect of this important task which can still be encountered in a few sectors.

These are important issues which can be effectively influenced by the trade unions. Consequently, the mass movement will concentrate increasingly more on the qualitative targets of production, which means, to put it briefly, on producing the planned quantity at a high quality. This is the way to correctly fulfill the target figure for goods production in the state plan.

With the effectiveness of our production we are determining the free scope of our social policy. Everything we are doing in our economy is, therefore, aimed at improving the cost-output ratio. Last but not least, this is valid for the measures which we are currently taking to strengthen the scientific-technical potential of the combines and enterprises, to make better use of it and at the same time to make cooperation closer between industry and institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences and our university system.

We are very pleased that the trade unions are making great efforts to make science and technology in our country a cause for all working people. This is possible only under socialism, and this advantage of our system will undoubtedly gain weight. An acceleration of speed and a shortening of the road from an idea to its implementation--all this requires an ever higher level of team work.

And it is a fact that the research collectives are increasingly systematically cooperating with the innovators and the workers in producing the new technology or in using it in the future. Our party regards this as an important social process. We believe that the innovators movement in all its variety on all levels deserves even greater attention. To quote Lenin, we ourselves are the party of the innovators. We are constantly changing in a revolutionary manner the life in our republic from which we have chased the exploiters and warmongers. All the more are we supporting the initiatives of all those who by words and deeds are systematically boosting the

productivity of our national economy. Colleagues! We must intensify even more this aspect of our activity. It determines the speed of the further increase of the material and cultural living standard of the people. It secures for us also in the future a place among the 10 leading industrial nations of the world. (strong applause)

Socialist rationalization is constantly gaining growing numbers of expert and ardent advocates. An increasing number of workers, engineers and scientists accept this great task justly as a challenge to their creative thinking. It is necessary to promote this spirit and this attitude everywhere. The trailblazers of a modern and effective socialist production are characterized by submitting their own innovative proposals in the interest of this good cause, and by stimulating others to do the same.

A broad action of the working people for rationalization would be unthinkable in any capitalist country. Where this process is advanced under the conditions of exploitation, it is fear for the job which is spreading; and rationalization is followed by unemployment. Things are quite different in the GDR. We have no unemployment, but full employment. We have no dismantling of social security but economic and social progress. In our country rationalization meets with mass-scale support because it is in a socialist manner beneficial to the society and the individual.

In 1976 a total of 194 million working hours were saved in the centrally administered industry, in transportation and construction alone through the plan for science and technology, investments and other measures of socialist rationalization. In 1977 this is to amount to 254 million hours. This poses not only high requirements for the even broader introduction of the newest technologies in industry and agriculture, it is also of decisive importance for the gradual introduction of the 40-hour week while retaining the 4-day work week. Thus social progress also presents problems. But we are certainly in agreement that it is a beautiful and rewarding task to master such problems. It is anyway only socialism which is capable of it, because the ignominious contradiction between the striving for profits and the interests of the people has been eliminated. In our country the working people have the power and they make good use of it.

As I already said, we value highly the share of the FDGB in this development. In the future, socialist rationalization will gain even greater weight, particularly directly in the combines and enterprises. That is why we are asking the trade unions to support even more the formation of the departments for the self-construction of rationalization means and to help develop them into true centers for implementing innovative ideas and for promoting scientific-technical progress.

But this course of increasingly rational and productive work helps us also to eliminate still-existing shortcomings. I mean here primarily overtime. We all know that there is still too much of it. It is also from this viewpoint that the trade unions are called upon to cooperate in achieving a constantly growing effectiveness of production.

Dear friends and comrades! The delegation of the SED Central Committee is deeply impressed by the atmosphere of this congress. Here in a militant and constructive manner the trade union members are deliberating how they could even increase their contribution to the success of our economic and social policy. This is how it was throughout the trade union elections, and this is how it is now also. At the congress, workers, young engineers and experienced scientists, working people from all sectors of our social life are speaking, giving a professional analysis of the situation in their field and developing proposals with ardent enthusiasm. This may appear incomprehensible to the capitalists and as a mysterious process to their lackeys. For us, however, it is undeniably true that things are going better without the capitalists. (stormy, prolonged applause; cheers for the GDR)

Who could close his eyes to this fact: socialist work, free of exploitation and serving the benefit of the people, has changed the people. It expands their vision and makes matters of their enterprise and their cooperative, of their entire state, their very own affair. Our socialist democracy differs from bourgeois democracy as day from night. (strong applause) It is deeply rooted in the socialist production relations. With the further shaping of the socialist society, the participation of the working people in the development of production, in its management and planning, and in raising the material and cultural living standard, is gaining increasing importance.

This is particularly clearly manifest in socialist competition. This movement is constantly growing in its content and scope, and it has never had such breadth and strength as in our days in honor of our common holiday: the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. (strong, prolonged applause; cheers for the fraternal alliance) In fact, almost the entire working population is participating in it--be it in the economy, in science, education, culture, in the national people's army or the other armed organs of the GDR.

As the working people pay tribute to the 60th anniversary of the Red October by their initiatives, they are acting entirely in the spirit of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck. They always regarded historical jubilees as an occasion for concrete actions on behalf of new victories of the workers class. The struggle for good economic results is here accompanied by a deepening of the political awareness of the past, present and future of our socialist cause and by the international conviction of the working people. As the trade unions conduct social competition in this manner, they are proving again their worth as schools of socialism and communism. (strong applause)

The movement "To work, study and live in a socialist manner" deserves as before your special support. It is popular because it appeals to the entire person. That is why it was included in our party program. Its further development is characterized primarily by qualitative progress in work, exemplary performance in boosting production through science and technology,

the constant striving to apply new labor experiences and by growing spiritual and cultural requirements. The saplings of a communist attitude toward work are being further developed. The unity of politics, economy, ideology and culture are particularly embodied in the struggle for the honorary title of "Socialist Labor Collective."

Dear comrades! Dear colleagues! Whatever we are doing to further develop management, planning and economic stimulation is always directed at improving, at the same time, the conditions for creative participation of the working people. We declared at the Ninth SED Congress that matters of management are questions of the exercise of power by the workers class and its allies. We proceed from this in our practice. It requires that central state management and planning must be even more effectively combined with the individually responsible work of the enterprises, combines, cooperatives and all other institutions of our socialist society. This promotes the creative activity of the working people and its usefulness. Under socialism the struggle for growing effectiveness is accompanied by an expansion of socialist democracy in production. The initiatives and experiences of the millions of owners of the production means are here a decisive source of strength.

Our five-year plan, the annual national economic plans and the entire concept of economic and social development are the result of deliberations with the people and at the same time the higher standard of state management. It is precisely the trade unions and their organs in the enterprises, combines and ministries which have an essential share in the discussions and decisions. The preparations of the third annual plan of our five-year plan, the 1978 plan, poses for us high requirements. We will discuss and determine it jointly. Of decisive importance for this is, however, the fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the current 1977 plan.

You can count on it that our party will also in the future let itself be guided by the proven principle of discussing everything connected with the development of socialism in a trustful and open manner with the people. (applause) For us there are no ifs or buts on this matter. Because the ideas of communism are the basis for the shaping of the social community, our prospects are clear. The clearer this is recognized everywhere the better will we master the problems which must be solved in the course of advancing toward the communist society.

Every proposal from a colleague is something valuable. It reflects endorsement of and feeling responsibility for our socialist construction work. This is how the Central Committee of our party regards the 900,000 pointers, suggestions and critical remarks which were submitted during the trade union elections alone. Dealing with these proposals is not one question among many others. Rather, it is a question of our understanding of democracy which is so fundamentally different from the bourgeois concept, because in our country what counts is every word from a worker, every word from an active builder of socialism. (strong, prolonged applause)

Every proposal for improving the working and living conditions should be studied to find where its rational core lies, as the saying goes. None must be left unstudied and unanswered. We know that this is still happening in some enterprises. If there are shortcomings in the use of material, in the servicing and maintenance of equipment, in the entire organization of production, this disturbs the colleagues and they are not satisfied with it. To assert their will to change this merits the application of full trade union authority. Essential improvements in the working and living conditions of the enterprise and in the consistency of production have been achieved since the Eighth SED Congress. But much must still be done, and this can only be done with the help of the ideas, suggestions and deeds of the working people.

The trade unions have done much to obtain for the ideas of their colleagues the attention which they deserve. We wish that they would make even better use of their considerable possibilities for this purpose and become in all collectives advocates of these proposals.

In this connection one must not exclude problematic questions. To say it openly, we regard, for example, the number of work accidents as still too high. It is true that statistics show fewer accidents than previously. Nevertheless, attention and vigilance must be further intensified. Above all, it is necessary to eliminate the causes as much as possible, and these are in many cases lack of order, cleanliness and discipline at the working place.

The field of trade union activity and representation of interests is wide. Whatever task one takes up individually--they all are most closely linked with the labor collective. The atmosphere reigning there and the relations which are developing there influence the thoughts and actions of the working people, their well-being, their satisfaction in work and their feeling of responsibility.

The individual spends a great part of his life in the labor collective. The trade union activity in this collective has a very great influence on the yardsticks of values which he acquires and the motives for his actions. Here the politically experienced and highly qualified workers, the proven innovators, are conveying to the young people the best militant and labor traditions and are forming them through their own example. These close, widely spread links between the older generation and the youth merit our attention and comprehensive support. (prolonged applause) This is also equally valid for the more than 2 million honorary trade union functionaries who are fulfilling their tasks with great elan and resolve in the labor collectives and trade union groups. (strong, prolonged applause)

Dear colleagues! The Central Committee of our party attributes great importance to the discussions and decision on the draft of the new labor code. We welcome the fact that the Ninth FDGB Congress intends to submit the draft of this law to the people's chamber so that its contents may become law. The Central Committee of our party will instruct the SED faction in the People's Chamber to fully and entirely approve the new labor code. (strong, prolonged applause)

More than 5.8 million working people participated in the discussion of this document and submitted, as recorded in the report of the FDGB Federal Executive, 147,806 proposals, suggestions and questions. One can say that this magna charta of labor which is of such great importance for the development of the GDR has been literally co-authored by all working people. It was not only co-authored by all working people, it also guarantees for everyone social security whether they are working or on pension, regardless of their age or sex, world outlook, religion or race.

The draft of the labor code now before us is entirely in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. It reflects the advantages, values and ideals of socialism. (strong, prolonged applause)

The new labor code resolutely affirms for all working people the right to work. This is a fundamental human right broadly linked with the other rights and duties of man and of profound influence on his well-being and happiness. The entire activity of our trade unions is broadly linked with the right to work, with its implementation and exercise. Work free from exploitation is the most important social achievement in the life of the working people. It is accompanied by the continuous development of his spiritual and physical abilities. It requires thoughts and artisan's skill, attention, high discipline and strenuous effort. Everyone knows the satisfaction created by things running smoothly and by joint efforts producing good results. Then it will also be easy to resolve difficult problems in the interest of the people. (strong, prolonged applause)

The working people consider it particularly annoying if production is not running smoothly. Thus it is also within the scope of trade union representation of interests to demand of the responsible managers that they insure the prerequisites for a good rhythm of work. On the other hand, modern processing work requires punctuality, full utilization of worktime, conscientiousness and high quality at every job.

The word work has nowhere such a prestigious sound as in socialist society. This can be easily understood. Profiteering and the denigrating of work to a marketable commodity has been overcome. Intelligence and diligence serve the benefit of the people. In accordance with the unity of the economic and social policy, the law draft can proceed from having everyone participate in the social gains of our socialist society.

It is a natural task for us to implement the right to work under increasingly more favorable conditions. In the capitalist countries, however, millions of working people are crowding around the labor offices and unemployment bureaus. Even according to official data there are at present more than 15 million unemployed, including some 7 million youths. For those who have got a job, everyday life and plans for the future are poisoned by fear of the "pink slip." Developments in the GDR confirm that without the right to work there is neither freedom nor social security. (strong, prolonged applause)

If representatives of the monopolies are now declaring increasingly more frequently that a right to work has no place in the "free market economy" of capitalism, they are reaping profits and on top of it even ridiculing the working people. The historical superiority of socialism is coming all the clearer to the fore, where the right to work, education and equality between men and women are as much a living reality as are all other human rights which are being further expanded at every stage of our social progress.

Dear colleagues! Dear comrades and friends!

We will jointly create the great edifice of socialism, and the further it develops the closer come the goals of the communist future. We are the co-builders of a new world, where man is the measure of all things. Historical progress is being accelerated through the strength of this new socialist world, through the example of the strengthening of our community of free peoples. All anti-imperialist fighters find in it a firm support of solidarity. This, our new world, is the most consistent trailblazer of peace, of human existence free of the threat of nuclear war.

We can note with satisfaction that the efforts undertaken for many years by the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other fraternal countries have led to important changes, specifically in Europe. The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, advocated since the very first hours of Lenin's foreign policy, began to turn from an idea into tangible reality. This is demonstrated by the process of detente which is being promoted as much as possible by our foreign policy. All peoples profit from it and it results in favorable external conditions for the building of socialism and communism in our countries and for progress in the world.

In accordance with the decisions of our Ninth SED Congress we are purposefully pursuing the course of peaceful coexistence through joint actions with our fraternal countries. After Helsinki it was shown even clearer than before that peace will never be offered to the people on a silver platter. You are right in proclaiming at your congress that as long as imperialism exists a resolute struggle is required to insure the peaceful life of the people. (strong applause)

GDR foreign policy continues to center around the goals which most profoundly reflect the interests of the peoples: security and peace, international cooperation and solidarity. Here, too, our balancesheet is good. The GDR has done its share so that there has now been peace in Europe for more than three decades. We will continue also in the future to do everything so that forthcoming generations will be able to live and work in peace. (strong applause) The world continues to move on. One day Bonn will also realize that the FRG is missing its greatest opportunity for normalizing its relations with the GDR and its allies if it continues to cling to the fiction that the quadripartite agreement "is valid for all of Berlin." It is not helpful to the FRG for Mr Helmut Schmidt to go through the prescribed

motions; as early as in Helsinki he presented the viewpoint that in the interests of detente the strength of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin should not be tested, not to speak of his unqualified attacks against the GDR state border. Mr Schmidt may regard it as an "inhumane proof of a failed policy." I do not wish to swell from this rostrum on what we consider inhumane in the FRG. (strong applause) However, we share fully and entirely the opinion of the workers who have said here that since 13 August 1961 the Berliners have no longer a foreign hand in their pockets and that the power of imperialism ends once and for all at the wall. (stormy, prolonged applause) Yes, even if those gentlemen do not like the wall, for us it represents, as the driver of an electric truck, Gerhard Meritz, said, security and peace, that is, the most valuable possession of mankind. (strong, lasting applause)

The trade unions with their work and influence assume an important place in the struggle for peace. The FDGB justly enjoys on the international scene high esteem because of its contribution to the cause of peace and anti-imperialist solidarity. This would have been unthinkable without the innumerable deeds of its members, without aid rendered on the spot, without the solidarity actions in the enterprises and institutions, without the many voluntary contributions in which one-mark coins turned into millions of marks. For this, too, the Central Committee of the SED expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the trade unions. (strong, prolonged applause)

Dear friends and colleagues! We are certain that the Ninth FDGB Congress will send forth a stream of valuable experiences and findings to all spheres of trade union work. Its results will provide a secure orientation for this important mass-political activity for further implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress at the new stage of socialist development of our society. In doing so the trade unions themselves will continue to prove their worth and growth with the new tasks confronting us.

We wish your congress good progress and all delegates and trade union members great successes in work, health and personal well-being.

I thank you for your attention. (stormy, prolonged applause; the delegates rise from their seats; cheers for the SED Central Committee and its general secretary)

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

APRIL 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Apr 77 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 4, Apr 77, signed to press 11 Mar 77, pp 386-512: "With Mind and Heart for the October Ideas." Translations and/or summaries of the articles of the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The April issue of EINHEIT publishes two so far unknown documents on the militant alliance of leading German leftists with the party of Lenin. Both documents have recently been discovered in Moscow archives. One of them is a letter from Clara Zetkin addressed to V. I. Lenin, the other a passionate pledge from Ernst Meyer on behalf of the "International" group to the Fifth All-Russian Soviet Congress held in Moscow in July 1918. "What I wish to write to you must be left unsaid at the moment," confessed Clara Zetkin on 27 July 1918, "but you may rest assured that I have remained unchanged and fully side with you in mind and heart and that I have drawn a thick dividing line between (me and) critics of the type of Kautsky and the like."

Several articles in this issue link up with the world-historical lessons of the Red October. Thus Wolfgang Eichhorn I writes in his article "Social and Personal Freedom in Socialism": "In the course of its 60-year history real socialism has proven itself to be the history of true humanism and real freedom for the working people." In another article Frank Joachim Herrmann unmasks the vain attempts of imperialist politicians to pose as "advocates of human rights." Guenter Kroeber deals with the dialectical interrelationship of scientific-technical progress and freedom.

Other contributions are devoted to Lenin's April theses (Harald Neubert), to the demands on the management of socialist competition (Lothar Hummel, Willi Land), to questions of our cultural policy (Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Werner Kuehn) as well as to problems of disarmament (Klaus-Dieter Ernst) and mass unemployment under capitalism (Joachim Nitsche).

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL FREEDOM IN SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 11 Mar 77
pp 395-405

[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Social and Personal Freedom in Socialism." For related information see JPRS 68796, 18 Mar 77, No 1367 of this series, pp 82-91; JPRS 68228, 17 Nov 76, No 1320, pp 19-33; JPRS 68886, 6 Apr 77, No 1375, pp 47-60]

[Text] The Great Socialist October Revolution opened the way to freedom for the broad popular masses. The purposeful and systematic development and extension of real freedom for the working people is an essential criterion for the socialist form of society. The author discloses the social bases of this freedom, treats the content and criteria of personal freedom in socialism and refutes the adversary's thesis that socialism should have to be "complemented" by a component of freedom.

In the course of its 60-year history real socialism has proven itself to be the history of true humanism and real freedom for the working people. More and more apparent become, in contrast, the lack of historical perspective in capitalism, its antihumanism and its inability to insure a stable social existence and elemental basic rights and freedoms for all working people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the problems of freedom are moving more and more into the center of the ideological class conflict.

Hosts of bourgeois ideologues have fallen in line in denying or defaming the real freedoms socialism has created and, in combination with it, in disguising the class content of bourgeois conceptions of freedom. They are seeking to bestow a higher dignity on the freedom monopoly capitalism uses for the exploitation of the working people and, moreover, to twist that kind of "freedom" into a condition for the freedom of the working people. In this conflict it is not only, and not mainly, the conflict with the enemies of real socialism that we are concerned with. Decisive is, rather,

to provide all those people in nonsocialist countries with an answer who are looking for ways for creating freedom for the people, who do see what socialism has done for freedom but are expecting from us theoretically sound explanations about the way we have taken and the principles and criteria that guide us. Not last, the purposeful and systematic further shaping of real freedom in socialism in which we are consciously engaged under the leadership by our party also confronts us with new questions and problems which we must come to grips with from the position of the scientific world-outlook of the workers class. The Marxist-Leninist conception of freedom, scientifically explained by the founders and creatively further developed by the revolutionary communist workers movement, thus is a fundamental element in our historically aware activities.

Social Foundations of Real Freedom for the People

"Not until man, as real individual, drops the abstract concept of citizen and has become, as an individual in his empirical life, through his individual work and individual relations, a member of the species, not until man has recognized and organized his own capabilities as social capabilities, so that he no longer will separate from himself social force in the form of political force, only then will human emancipation be achieved."¹ By these words Marx, then 25 years old, described the dialectical interrelations between personal and social freedom which characterize human emancipation and can be brought into effect only in socialism, under the leadership by the workers class and its party. What does this concentrated statement by Marx express? First, he determines that human freedom is not a matter of abstract political declamations or formal rules of a game but, first and foremost, a matter of the everyday productive activities and of the ordinary life of millions of working people. Second, he expresses that real personal freedom is not possible in egoistical isolation from society but can develop only when a working man comprehends, develops, employs and organizes his individual capabilities as social capabilities. Third, this real personal freedom is possible only in a community in which the working people purposefully shape and control their social processes and relations through systematically organized cooperation.

In this manner Marx shows that individual freedom presupposes social freedom and at the same time is a factor, content and objective of it. He thereby reveals dialectical contents of human emancipation which remained inaccessible to those ideologists who remained imprisoned behind bourgeois class barriers. Marx marks himself off sharply from a bent of mind that is altogether typical of bourgeois ideologists: their separating the idea of freedom from the struggle against exploitation and for improving the working and living conditions of the toiling masses, their placing freedom in opposition to historical inevitability, to class conscious discipline. This propensity of bourgeois ideologists subsequently assumed forms of increasing demagoguery. Today it has become a tool of reactionary imperialist power politics, of anti-democratism and anticommunism.

Marx' remark of 1843, however, in the history of the class struggles and social transformations since has fully proven itself to be the scientifically established concept of human emancipation. The Great Socialist October Revolution 60 years ago started the successful practical realization of this concept on the development of social and personal freedom, and in the course of this process the victorious workers class under the leadership by its Marxist-Leninist party provided the historical evidence that "socialism is the society of liberated labor, of true democracy, of real freedom of personality."² Nor is that truth affected in any way by the buckets of slander the politicians and ideologues of the imperialist bourgeoisie, arm in arm with anticommunists in a humanistic or even revolutionary garb, have been pouring over the Soviet power for its alleged violation or elimination of freedom and human rights.

That kind of clamor arose even during the first months of the October Revolution, when it within a very brief period swept away the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties that had joined the counterrevolution against the Soviet power. The Soviet power began its work with the struggle for ending the imperialist war and for establishing permanent, democratic peace among the nations. It brought to realization the nations' right to self-determination. It issued the "declaration of the rights of the toiling and exploited people," in which the abolition of exploitation was vested. It transformed the land and soil, the banks and large-scale industry into people's property and introduced workers' control posts in all enterprises. It immediately adopted a number of social measures in the interest of the working population. Medical aid and school education became free of charge. The Soviet power introduced the 8-hour work day and adopted measures for insuring the workers against illness, disability and unemployment. The Revolution followed a steady course at organizing socialist competition with the goal of "truly leading the majority of the working people into a field of occupation in which they could excel, develop their abilities and reveal those talents which the people brings forth, inexhaustible in their source, and which capitalism has squelched, suppressed and suffocated."³ All over the country the working masses started making use of the possibilities they had received for the first time, in meetings and all through the day, for participating in decision-making and in the government.

Within only a few months the October Revolution laid the foundations for the emancipation of man, for the freedom of the toiling and exploited masses and thereby also, for the development of the personal freedom for working man. Especially with respect to democracy and freedom for the people the Soviet power thus did far more, in less than half a year, and under the most difficult circumstances, than social development had come up with in centuries before.

In the view of bourgeois ideologists and politicians, freedom is an absolute and eternal "value" nature grants to man, or it may also be an inexplicable, unfathomable phenomenon from way yonder. The CDU's "draft for a basic program" in the FRG, states for example: "Freedom is based on a reality which transcends the human world."⁴ If freedom is something that mystical and based on something

so inaccessible to man, it would suggest, it would in fact impel the conclusion, that man is unable to do anything for gaining his freedom, that it is something decreed by fate, for which reason it therefore also cannot be achieved by means of revolutionary struggle. And that precisely is the false propensity that position is aiming at. Its purpose is to disguise the brutal power politics of the imperialist monopolies, to weaken the anti-imperialist democratic movement and to discredit real socialism. In the Marxist-Leninist view, confirmed by life, freedom is a perfectly real, scientifically comprehensible and definable relationship between man and his environment, a relationship that has its roots in the practical social process of men's lives, within which it develops historically. Freedom is the practical domination of man over nature, the social processes and himself, based on his comprehension of the natural and social inevitabilities.

Decisive and fundamental to the degree of human freedom attained is the development of social freedom. It is expressed in the conscious and systematic organization of the social developmental processes and the relations to nature by society as a whole. Social freedom is a product of history.

Based on the private ownership in the means of production and on the exploitation and suppression of the laboring classes, it did become possible, to be sure, to develop enormously the productive forces of social labor and to expand gigantically man's domination over the forces of nature. But this increment in social freedom as far as the deliberate, practical exploitation of the natural laws in social production was concerned was tied in with the society's lack of freedom in terms of the internal inevitabilities of social development themselves. This antagonistic form of the development of social freedom receives an ever more dangerous edge by imperialism. The spontaneous and anarchical capacities in capitalist profit production not only undermine the social forms of existence and development, they also assume ever more destructive effects on the natural foundations of life and production in society. Imperialism turns out to be a total system lacking social freedom, for it "means exploitation of the working people, sociopolitical and intellectual suppression, unemployment, racial and national discrimination, colonialism and neocolonialism. It produces a deep moral crisis in society, spiritual decay, consumerism and glorification of violence, which deforms personality."⁵

At the same time, it is becoming ever more apparent in our epoch that only socialism makes real social freedom possible, which manifests itself above all in the conscious and systematic molding of social relations by society itself, based on the scientific insights into the social inevitabilities. It presupposes the political rule of the workers class in alliance with all working people and the public ownership in the means of production. It can be based only on a mode of production and a form of society in which all productive forces of social labor and all intellectual-cultural potentials of society are fully developed, with the aim at satisfying the people's material and cultural needs at an ever higher level and at creating ever better conditions for the all round development of personality and of the socialist way of life.

That was given expression by Engels as long as 100 years ago when he emphasized in his "Anti-Duehring" that society had to take possession of the means of production to eliminate the domination of the products over the producers, replace the anarchy in social production by systematic and conscious organization and end the struggle for individual existence. "Only then man, in a certain sense, departs definitely from the animal kingdom, moves from animal conditions of existence into truly human ones. The circumference around man's conditions of life, which so far had governed men, now comes under the domination and control of men, who now become for the first time, because and while they become the masters of their own socialization, truly the masters of nature. The laws of their own social activity, which they had until then confronted as alien natural laws dominating them, are now being applied, and thus controlled, by men with the expert knowledge they now have. The socialization of man itself, previously confronting them as if nature and history had imposed it on them, now becomes their own free deed. The objective, alien forces which previously dominated history fall under the control of men themselves. Only from that moment on will men, in full consciousness, make their own history, and only then will the social causes they have set in motion have, primarily and increasingly, the effects they themselves had intended. That is the leap mankind takes from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom."⁶

Engels' statements imply a program of long range for social transformations and developmental processes -- all the way to the full form of communist society. It is precisely because freedom is no "value" that hovers above history and above the contradiction between class interests, which idealistic conceptions claim it is, but a real relationship between man and his environment that forms and takes effect within the sociohistorical practice of man, it cannot be introduced by one bold stroke. It develops throughout the historic process in which the new society, on the basis of socialist power and property relations, matures more and more through the growth in its scientific-technical, economic, social and intellectual-cultural potentials. The most important content of this social freedom precisely is that the working masses, as producers and as owners of the means of production and as agents of the political power, under the leadership by the workers class and its party, will increasingly better manage, plan and organize, through the deliberate utilization of the recognized inevitabilities in nature and society, the further shaping of the socialist production relations and, on the basis, the development of all sides and areas of public life. We are, consequently, working purposefully on the ever more extensive formation of social freedom when we, in accordance with the SED program, further advance the developed socialist society, whereby we are creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. That is the way through which the working people will, as "masters of their own socialization," learn ever better to apply, and thus to control, with expert knowledge, the laws behind their social acts.

Criteria for Personal Freedom

It is a decisive factor for social freedom in socialism that through its development an ever firmer basis, ever more extensive preconditions and stronger impulses are at once being formed for the development of personal freedom. For the main goal of socialist social development precisely is that on the basis of a high speed of development in socialist production and in the growth of labor productivity the people's material and cultural standard of living is raised, that ever better conditions are thereby created and more powerful impulses are released for the development of the working people's individuality, their personality, creativity, initiative and expertise.

The question as to what individual freedom is and what its criteria are has become subject to bitter ideological debates. Two incompatible conceptions, two implacable class positions are facing each other: the bourgeois position and that of the revolutionary workers class. The former, ideologically speaking, is based on idealistic positions, whatever differences may be found in the views presented. For example, the conservative-reactionary trends are frankly tying the "freedom of the person" to private property and are using as the theoretical justification for their statements on "personal freedom" primarily the Catholic social doctrine and philosophical anthropology, whereas social reformist trends resort to "ethical values" in defining individual freedom. In contrast to all bourgeois theories, the conception the revolutionary workers class has is marked, also in defining individual freedom, by a consistent materialism. Even Marx and Engels pitted against the idealistic idea that man is free "by means of the negative capability to avoid this or that" the materialistic conception to the effect that the individual is free "through the positive power of bringing his true individuality to bear."⁷ That concept of individual freedom thus focuses on the social developmental conditions, the working and living conditions of the vast mass of individuals, and the abolition of the exploitation of the toiling classes. It places its emphasis on active and creative participation in the practical social and historical process and on forming the individual abilities and skills required for it. It combines individual freedom with the all round development of the individuals and their positive wealth in relations and capabilities, which is possible only through common and organized cooperation with others.

As long as mankind, absorbing the development of the productive forces and social needs, faced the task of eliminating the medieval feudal fetters and forming the bourgeois society, the ideas of freedom developed by the bourgeoisie did have a historically limited yet progressive content. Capitalism calls for individuals who can, as private proprietors, freely dispose of the means of production, be they owners of capital or, solely and exclusively, of human labor. These premises find their adequate ideological expression in the bourgeois-idealistic conception of personal freedom. To the extent, however, that the bourgeoisie established its rule and the relation between wage labor and capital prevailed, that conception of freedom became historically false. It became a reactionary demagogic formula which under imperialism serves to

hide the state monopolist exploitation and suppression of the working people, justify capitalist class domination and defame the social demands of the workers class and its liberation struggle. Entirely in line with that objective, the basic program of the CSU emphatically states: "In a libertarian economic order the private property in the means of production, including land and soil, is inviolable." For, as it continues, "the economic order of the social market economy is an economic guarantee for the freedom rights of all citizens."⁸

The history of capitalism, however, proves emphatically that the freedom rights of the individuals as proclaimed by bourgeois democracy, now and then, are of a purely formal nature precisely because a society based on the private ownership in the means of production simply is not in the position to guarantee real freedom to all members of society. The illusion spread by the bourgeoisie from the very beginning, which did not remain ineffectual, that bourgeois freedoms guaranteed real freedom for the working people, stands in gross contradiction to capitalism as it really is. The undeniable proof has come from it that it is a society of exploitation and social inequality, of crises and war and aggression, of unemployment and corruption, racial oppression and moral degradation, that it suppresses the individuality of the working people in the millions, that it impoverishes, stunts and destroys them and tramples under foot the most elemental rights of the working people -- such as the right to work, to social security, to education and even the right to life itself -- without the guarantee of which all the talk of freedom is merely hot air. The formal bourgeois freedom rights, which the bourgeois ideologues are raising to the sky, as "absolute values," in truth brought merely very limited historical advances for the working people. The progressive importance they did have mainly was that they contained favorable conditions for organizing the workers class and developing the class struggle -- for insuring and expanding the democratic rights of the working people, for social progress and socialism and hence, for having the working people gain their freedom. And that is also the reason why the imperialist bourgeoisie increasingly undermines, destroys and throws overboard the bourgeois-democratic freedoms.

It follows inevitably from all this that there can be no real personal freedom under capitalist conditions. "To be exploited and to be free are two things that are mutually exclusive. Freedom for the working people comes only with the end of exploitation, with socialism."⁹

The personal freedom that is being realized at an ever higher level through the shaping of the developed socialist society differs basically, mainly through three characteristics, from the capitalist freedoms. First, its new historical quality, its class-bound thrust is unequivocally determined by its being frankly and clearly integrated with the purposeful effectuation of the meaning of socialism "to do everything for the good of the people, for the interests of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people."¹⁰ Second, it is characteristic of it that the declarations on freedom rights, on formal rights, are here replaced by materially guaranteed, secure and real political freedoms and social rights representing the fundamental interests and intentions of the workers and the

toiling masses: the right to work, to education and recreation, to health protection, to social security for the aged and in case of disability, the equality among citizens irrespective of racial or national bonds, of ideology, religious affiliation and social position, and equal rights for men and women in all domains of life. Third, socialist individual freedom differs fundamentally from the bourgeois freedoms with respect to its image of man. Bourgeois concepts always focus on a distinct individual and thus always proceed, basically, from the isolated individual's paralysis vis-a-vis the enslaving, anonymous social forces. Socialist personal freedom, on the other hand, means a participation by the individual, which is active and creative and is based on expert judgment and expert decision-making and borne by high responsibility, in the rule by the associated producers over social processes and interconnections. It means the all round development of the working people's individuality, and great individual richness in knowledge and skills, in education and social relations. Our party program says about this: "The comprehensive social activities of the workers, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, participating with high political responsibility and expertise in the management and planning of social development, is a characteristic of developed socialism."¹¹

The freedom of personality in our republic, as in the other states of the socialist community, more and more marks the life of the individual as of the whole society. It manifests itself in the participation by thousands of citizens in the democratic exercise of power as well as in their great achievements in socialist competition and in the innovator and the rationalizer movement. It becomes apparent in the various socialist relations developing in the work collectives, in residential areas, in leisure time communities and so forth. It is being expressed in the deliberate acquisition of education and culture and, not last, marked by our active solidarity with all peoples struggling for their social and national liberation and by ever closer friendly relations with the working people in the fraternal socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership by the working class party and initiated by it, more and more comprehensive social conditions and prerequisites are systematically being created for the further shaping of the working people's personal freedom in our society. The sociopolitical measures decided on by the Ninth SED Congress, the tasks posed for further perfecting socialist democracy in the field of education and cultural policy, for the further development of the socialist way of life and for spreading the scientific world-outlook of the workers class, thus also are from the vantage point of the all round molding of the freedom of personality an expression of the profoundly humanistic character of socialist social policy.

"Recommendations" from our Adversaries

Adversaries of real socialism, among them such as would call themselves Marxists too, are vociferously demanding that socialism should have to be "complemented by the component of freedom." They are recommending the

blessings of "Western democracy and freedom" should be "inserted" into our social order to bring about a "socialism in freedom." The question is which and whose freedom they are talking about.

As to the "achievements" of that extolled democracy and freedom in the capitalist countries, a journal for the theory and practice of "democratic socialism" recently observed that those principles were colliding, precisely with regard to getting anchored in society, with realities in the FRG society: "The majority of the people is constantly being prevented from assuming and exercising its constitutionally guaranteed rights in the FRG through a kind of education which, in form and content, by and large still is undemocratic, through largely inhumane working conditions and hierarchical structures in the enterprises and other places of work, the monopolization of information by top economic and government positions, publicity media which, depending on capital, by and large work on behalf of the interests of a privileged minority, by the extortionist employment of economic power and, not last, the influence social power relations have on the legislative and executive, on jurisprudence and jurisdiction."¹² That is a rather anonymous statement but it does point out that in the capitalist world freedom exists only for seeking profits, for the large monopolies. Even Willy Brandt had to admit to all intents and purposes, in a speech at the Tutzingen Evangelical Academy, that there is virtually no possibility for working man in the FRG to carry his opinion and interests "into public opinion molding and decision-making processes" and that "colossal economic power, and that usually also means politically effective power, accumulates in few hands."¹³

Drawing the historical and logical consequences from these facts would make it necessary to force back the economic power of the large capitalist monopolies as well as their opportunities for exercising political and ideological influence while relying on the working people's interests and desires, for the purpose of placing the decisive means of production in the hands of the people and to employ and augment them for the benefit of the people, and not for profit purposes.

But the rightist social democratic leaders by no means want to take this "road of freedom": "The question of socialization, of turning the means of production into common property, depends, as far as we social democrats are concerned, not mainly on whether or not we have the power to do so. It is exclusively a question of the future of men in our society and thus depends entirely on the extent to which large-scale ownership and the private power of disposal over the large means of production block the basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity."¹⁴ First one virtually affirms that the large-scale capitalist ownership in the means of production and the political and ideological power of big capital based on it patently embody, so to speak, the social injustice and bondage of the working people, and then the consequences resulting from that for the struggle of the workers and the other working people on behalf of real freedom and justice are dismissed by empty and noncommittal phrases about some kind of basic values. And that is typical of that very ideology and practice by social democratic leaders that have at no time and

nowhere in the world ushered in socialist changes of social conditions for surmounting the power of the capitalist monopolies and for the working people's liberation from exploitation, social insecurity and unemployment.

The truth is that the socialist countries under the leadership by their Marxist-Leninist parties are the ones to have taken the way to freedom for the working people. History has proven that real freedom of the people and of the individual can form only when the political power is firmly held by the workers class in alliance with all working people, when exploitation is eliminated and the decisive means of production are turned into the people's property. That is an indispensable prerequisite for making the working people grow up to become the masters of their social processes of life themselves, for their systematically developing social production in accordance with economic laws for the benefit of the people, and for their initiative and independent creativity to develop at a massive scope in all areas of life. That is the real, socialist way of human freedom toward completing the emancipation of man in Marx' sense. By what kind of freedom, allegedly existing in the capitalist countries, can socialism then be "complemented"? That no such complementing is needed, is obvious. "Socialism is a society in the structure of which human freedom is deeply rooted. With the elimination of the private property in the means of production, the origin of exploitation and suppression is done away with. Equality in a real, not merely legal, sense grants space for the development of all abilities and the full unfolding of socialist personalities."¹⁵

Freedom in socialism has of course not been completed, is not a given for once and for all. It goes through an inexhaustible process of higher development advancing toward ever higher levels through the growth of the productive forces and of intellectual culture and with the perfecting of social relations. And we are taking our clues here neither from formal bourgeois declarations of freedom nor from any noncommittal ideas of some kind of abstract "basic values." We are focusing, in conformity with our party program, on the tasks before us and pointing to the future in the shaping of the developed socialist society and on a massive educational process for the working people that will turn them into educated, cultured, conscious and self-aware personalities in this process, rich in initiatives and on a high level, and imbued with the socialist world-outlook.

The yardsticks and targets of socialist freedom development follow from the fundamental inevitability that inheres in our social relations toward the all round development of all productive forces, mainly the economic growth and the productivity and efficiency of social labor, for the purpose of steadily elevating the people's material and cultural well-being and of insuring the free and all round development of the members of society. In other words, these criteria arise out of the vital interests of the workers, cooperative farmers, and the members of the intelligentsia -- but not from the historically long obsolete and even at their own time narrow-minded and illusory aspects of the bourgeois freedoms.

In imperialist countries, especially in the FRG, they have recently, with much noise, been spreading the horror story that the GDR and other socialist states were depriving persons with different views of their human rights. This slander is being disseminated by the mouthpieces of those who seek to poison the international atmosphere, who in their own sphere of domination are engaged in banning people from practicing their profession and, in connection with it, are producing an atmosphere of denunciation, snooping and dread, deny the working people's right to work and support the fascist regimes in South America and South Africa. Actually, there is not a single capitalist country in which so many different interests and ideas are usefully being applied to the progressive development of society, and in which so many different proposals, initiatives and recommendations are officially being asked for, promoted and actually introduced into social development as in our country and the other socialist countries.

Prerequisite to it is a social organism which will combine, on an ever higher level, in a uniformly working and systematically employed capacity, the requirements of social progress and the interests of society on the one hand, and the working people's interests in the constant rise of their standard of living and in the development of their personality. History has shown that only the working class in power, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, is in the position to bring people with diverse world-outlooks and different inclinations together for joint action and to guide and organize their activities in such a way that the people can lead a meaningful life -- in freedom, peace and creative work for the present and for the future.

And as we are aware of the historic magnitude and importance of the freedom that socialism has produced, we do our best in protecting it effectively and guarding it carefully, as it has been written into the Constitution and, for example, into the law on the protection of peace. There is no room in socialism for a warfare ideology or imperialist drives for aggression, for kindling hatred among the peoples or racism.

Personal Freedom -- Creative Action for the Good of Socialist Society

The Marxist-Leninist conception of freedom has illuminated the dialectical reciprocity between social and personal freedom as it develops in socialism. On it rests its power of conviction. The Marxist-Leninist view can be summarized by two basic ideas: (1) Social freedom is the precondition, the foundation and the historic context for the development of individual freedom; and (2) the development of individual freedom for all working people in socialist society is, in turn, the object of social freedom as well as an essential criterion for the degree of its maturity. Personal freedom therefore must always be looked at in connection with social freedom, the protection of socialism, the consolidation of socialist order and discipline, the growth of the material and intellectual-cultural forces of socialism, and the perfection of social relations.

The dependence of individual on social freedom in no way means, however, that both coincide, that personal freedom is simply a consequence or concomitant of social freedom or results from it automatically. For one thing, individual freedom is not totally conditioned by its social foundations; its development also depends on individual-subjective factors. Only to the extent that the individual actively and creatively participates in the collective development of social freedom will individual freedom grow out of its social foundations. It can form only to the degree that the individuals consciously seize and transform the social possibilities for personality development. The individual must, in practical terms, take possession of social freedom by helping in the shaping of it -- that way alone will social freedom turn into individual freedom. On the other hand, personal freedom, as creative actions taken by the individual who brings his individuality socially to bear in the socialist manner, has repercussions as a powerful lever for the development of social freedom. With the scope for the full development of individual freedom being thus dependent on the measure of social freedom obtained, on the extent to which there is a collective control over social processes and natural forces, the growth of social freedom is likewise propelled and determined more and more by the measure of creative initiative among many individuals, their individual contribution, their individual skill and intent. Marx and Engels expressed this interrelated aspect of the social and personal freedom by saying that the workers class would create an association in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."¹⁶

The materialist concept of freedom, within which the dialectic between social and personal freedom arises, thus makes clear that socialist responsibility and discipline are not extrinsic, let alone antipodes, to freedom. The sense of responsibility among the working people and the collectives for strengthening the socialist state, for developing the economy, for the efficient use of basic assets, for full-capacity production, for a thrifty utilization of material and energy, and for order and discipline in all public domains turns out to be one of the most important conditions not only for accelerating economic, social and cultural development in the GDR but also for the development of socialist personality, for the growth of personal freedom.

The notion that between human freedom on the one hand and responsibility for the whole, for social progress, on the other, a gap exists, and also that freedom and discipline, irrespective of the social character and class content this discipline owns, are incompatible with each other, is the product of bourgeois-idealistic conceptions and manipulation. It is an unavoidable concomitant of the conception which is wedded to the dream that freedom is not dependent on the laws of nature or the laws of social development and on the class struggle. There is no such independence of natural laws and the inevitabilities and impulses of the historical process. Freedom can consist only of the ability given to man of coming to understand better and better the laws of nature and society, of having them work, better and better, for specific purposes, whereby to expand, more and more, man's control over the forces of nature and over all social interconnections.¹⁷ This is a process of collective struggle in which the individual takes part through creative and disciplined action in his own responsibility toward the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of freedom makes clear in this manner that the working people's responsibility in socialist society for strengthening socialist state power, for accelerating economic development and for perfecting social relations is a necessary element of social as well as individual freedom. The same is true of class-conscious socialist discipline. For under socialist conditions, the disciplined integration of individual abilities and inclinations with the systematic progress of society is a decisive condition for the development of the personal capacities of the working people and for the enrichment of their individuality. Above and beyond social ties, freedom is impossible. As long as social relations are based on the private ownership in the means of production and thereby reflect the antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited as well as the fact that men are dominated by their social relations, real human freedom cannot exist. New social relations are needed for it, and they can develop only in socialism through letting the workers class assume an ever stronger leadership role. Lenin has spoken of the moral and political authority of the workers class which "creates new and firmer social ties and social discipline: a discipline of people working consciously and in unity, who know of no force above them and of no power other than the power of their own affiliation, of their own conscious, bold, firmly structured, revolutionary and steadfast vanguard."¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 1, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1956, p 370.
2. "On the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution--CPSU Central Committee Resolution of 31 January 1977," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.
3. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize the Competition," "Werke," Vol 26, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1961, p 402.
4. "CDU Basic Program Draft," p 5.
5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.
6. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1962, p 264.
7. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The Holy Family," "Werke," Vol 2, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1957, p 138.
8. "Basic CDU Program," p 39.
9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, p 111.

10. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, pp 19-20.
11. Ibid., p 21.
12. Johano Strasser, "What is Democratic Socialism?" FORUM DS, Kiel No 1, 1976, pp 18-19.
13. Willy Brandt, "Socialism is the Way of Freedom," VORWAERTS, No 11, 11 March 1976, p 6.
14. Ibid.
15. "Appeal for the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 February 1977.
16. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1959, p 482.
17. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," loc. cit., p 106.
18. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1963, p 412.

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EAST GERMANY

PERSONAL FREEDOM DISCUSSED IN LIGHT OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 11 Mar 77
pp 412-418

[Article by Prof Dr Guenter Kroeber, corresponding member of GDR Academy of Sciences; director of academy's Institute for Theory, History and Organization of Science: "Scientific-Technical Progress and Freedom"]

[Text] On the basis of socialist production relations, the scientific-technical progress becomes the decisive instrument for the further improvement of the material and the intellectual-cultural standard of living and of the working people's development of personality. Scientific-technical progress does by no means lead necessarily to the global crisis manifestations that bourgeois authors have been prophesying. Rather, the workers class in power, in alliance with all other working people, can use scientific-technical progress for fostering the freedom of social action.

"We communists proceed from the consideration that the scientific-technical revolution can take its proper course, conforming to the interests of man and society, only under the conditions of socialism. In turn, only on the basis of accelerated development for science and technology can the ultimate task of the social revolution be solved, the communist society be established."¹ These were the words by which L. I. Brezhnev, at the 25th CPSU Congress, described the inseparable connection between scientific-technical and social progress in our time, in calling attention to the enormous importance the development of scientific-technical progress has under the conditions of socialism for the development of all public domains. Along the very same lines our Ninth Party Congress focused on an accelerated development of science and technology in the GDR as the decisive condition for the further development of the material-technical base for creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. Only through scientific-technical progress can we insure the high economic dynamics needed for

bringing to realization the tasks of our sociopolitical program through the continued systematic development of the humanistic nature of our socialist order, in creating ever better possibilities for raising the people's material and cultural standard of living, for the growth of socialist personalities and the development of all their creative forces. The achievements of science and technology, used for the benefit of man, enlarge the measure of human freedom, which lies in "the control over ourselves and over external nature based on the recognition of natural necessities."²

The capitalist world, in contrast, makes manifest that the development of science and technology, insofar as it is placed at the service of the monopoly bourgeoisie's maximizing its profits, enlarges the degree of exploitation of the working people and hence, their bondage. The problem of human freedom in essence always is a class question. The question always is: Freedom, for whom and for what?

Freedom -- A Class Question

"Control over ourselves" implies control over nature. Through every step taken by man in ever more deeply penetrating the secrets of nature and society he always gained new possibilities for acting in freedom.

That path has always been punctuated by dreams and visions. Some could be brought to realization only after many centuries. Others turned out to have been pure chimera, proven unreal when the relevant natural laws became known. Icarus, flying toward the sun on feathery wings, symbolizes the former type of dreams. But consider the colossal difference in the state of knowledge and in technical possibilities available to the pilot of a supersonic airplane, or of a spacecraft, today, in comparison with Icarus. The dream of perpetual motion represents the second kind of dreams. Succumbing to it would amount to ignoring centuries of natural science history, to chasing after the illusion the world could be shaped at will, arbitrarily, and thus, by a misunderstood notion of freedom. "Not in some dreamed independence from natural laws lies freedom, but in the recognition of these laws and in the possibility given thereby of making them work systematically for definite ends,"³ that was how Engels described this subject matter.

Understanding the natural laws is, to be sure, a necessary but not yet a sufficient condition for man's liberation from being subjected to the blind working of the forces of nature. Rather, such knowledge must be introduced into material production, into social practice altogether, in the form of scientific-technical progress. It must be practically applied so that it will help make the forces and interconnections of nature actually work for the benefit of man. Only when man can bring to realization the possibilities offered to him by recognized natural interrelations, that is to say, when he controls the social and material conditions needed for making them work systematically for definite ends, he ceases being subjected, powerlessly, to the blind forces of nature. For it is of course under perfectly concrete social

conditions that this process proceeds. It works through the production relations. On them and on the political power relations ultimately depends for whose benefits and for what ends the knowledge of nature is applied in material production.

However theoretically important a result basic natural science research, or an achievement of scientific-technical progress, may be, they will advance human freedom only if they are applied to practical social affairs in such a way that they are used for the good of man and prove themselves in a humanistic sense. Not theoretical-scientific progress per se advances man's real freedom. Only when natural science progress is transformed into technical achievements and when it is borne by the progressive, revolutionary movement, it becomes the factor which makes man truly the master over the forces of nature. Not until scientific-technical progress is brought to social realization through the united efforts by the workers, engineers, technicians, scientists and all other working people, can the measure of freedom actually be increased. Scientific-technical progress can "less and less be managed by scientists and technicians alone."⁴ What is needed here is the conscious work of all working classes and strata. Under prevailing conditions, scientific-technical progress will most effectively promote the freedom of men wherever the workers class exercises the political power and where the achievements of the scientific-technical progress are organically combined with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and with socialist social relations altogether.

As "the history of any given individual can in no way be torn away from the history of preceding and contemporary individuals but is conditioned by it,"⁵ the historical course and any given stage in scientific-technical progress likewise cannot be separated from the material and intellectual efforts and needs of preceding generations, from the productive forces they have created, from the amount of knowledge they have accumulated and the treasure of experience they have gathered.

The limits of knowledge are historically set by the given understanding available and by the material means society can invest. That goes to say that the degree of man's potential control over nature in any given historical epoch is not set for once and for all. That limit is subject to society's possibilities for cognition. And it also depends on the developmental stage of the productive forces and production relations. "We can cognize only as conditioned by our epoch and only to the extent that those conditions extend,"⁶ Engels said. Freedom as the product of historical development, of the conditions of an epoch, therefore never is absolute, total freedom. Its limits lie where scientific-technical progress meets the boundary between what is known and what is still unknown. It is at that point where imperialism abuses scientific-technical progress for increasing the bondage of the suppressed simultaneously with increasing the freedoms of the political ruling class.

Freedom can thus never be conceived of only as the degree to which man controls nature. In this sense it is indivisible, not to be split as between the

control over the forces of nature on the one side and the control over social relations, on the other. The possible degree of freedom given, within the scope of historical conditions, always includes both -- the control of nature and of social conditions.

The Scientific-Technical Progress in the Class Conflict Today

As long as the nature of social conditions under which man works and lives is not understood, man cannot shape those relations consciously and systematically. The preconditions for real freedom arise only when the basic social inevitabilities of development are disclosed, which reveal the capitalist production relations as those of exploitation of man by man, and when the transition from capitalist social relations to socialist ones is understood and brought to realization as the working class task of practical action.

The social liberation of the toiling masses working and living under capitalist production relations thus is an objective precondition for the control over nature that must be conquered each day anew. The developed capitalist countries today have gigantic possibilities for progress in science and technology. But in how many cases does this progress serve to using this increased control over the forces of nature for the suppression of other peoples, for example? Would you say the degree to which the control of man's natural environment, and of its being shaped in human dignity, is being raised solely by knowing of the dangers of environmental pollution and, in principle also, the technical means for preventing it? Many questions like these could be raised. They would all suggest that under capitalist conditions there are fundamental barriers to making full use of scientific-technical progress for expanding the realms of freedom in the sense of the control over external nature, which would be in the interest of social progress and of humanism, inseparable from it. Those barriers are, objectively, tied in with the economic interests of the ruling class although, in the way the bourgeois ideologists present the subject, they are made to appear time and again as as disinterested "objective constraints."

For example, the global-ecological crisis prognoses in the developed capitalist countries -- as, for instance, laid down in the first report to the Club of Rome, on "Limits of Growth" -- proceed from the proposition that science used for steadily increasing the productivity of labor of necessity produces negative social effects, which would overcompensate for all its beneficial effects, eventually lead ad absurdum and condemn man to servitude in an environment threatening his physical existence. Historically speaking, however, through our progressive advances in understanding the social and natural interconnections, the general preconditions also are increasing for steering reproduction cycles in the human conditions of existence, at increasingly wider scope and longer duration, in the interest of men. These possibilities are brought to realization to the extent that, for the sake of such concerted reproduction, all the means for its effective control can be employed in a concentrated manner on the basis of an overall social interest. However, the more those interests interfere that result from the fragmentation of the

overall social potential into independently working capital assets with their unforeseeable economic interests in particular, the less an overall social control in the interest of men becomes possible.

It is not the scientific-technical progress per se but the socioeconomic character of this progress that leads into global-ecological danger. This is an insight which has recently also dawned on the authors of the third report to the Club of Rome when they affirmed that "the real limits of growth are less of a scientific or technological, but rather more of a political and social nature."⁷

The economic relations of socialism, on the other hand, facilitate long-range and complex requirements for shaping the goals and ways of direct economic action. Harmful ecological effects for man stemming from productively applied science here, if one discounts the difficulties arising from gaps in our knowledge, are not the consequence of economic growth but, on the contrary, the consequence of its still inadequate level, and they will be reduced successively and necessarily through the growing economic capability of society.

Only then can scientific-technical progress advance man's freedom from the external constraints an environment he himself has been changing has put upon him when the "leap of mankind from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom"⁸ has been taken, by which Engels defined the transition from capitalist to socialist social conditions. Only on the basis of socialist production relations will the domination of the product over the producers end and will the anarchy within social production be replaced by systematic and conscious organization: "The circumference around man's conditions of life, which so far had governed men, now comes under the domination and control of men, who now become for the first time, because and while they become the masters of their own socialization, truly the masters of nature. The laws of their own social activity, which they had until then confronted as alien natural laws dominating them, are now being applied, and thus controlled, by men with the expert knowledge they now have. The socialization of man itself, previously confronting them as if nature and history had imposed it on them, now becomes their own free deed. The objective, alien forces which previously dominated history fall under the control of men themselves. Only from that moment on will men, in full consciousness, make their own history, and only then will the social causes they have set in motion have, primarily and increasingly, the effects they themselves had intended."⁹

By producing fire from friction, man first assumed control over a natural force and stepped outside the animal kingdom. But now, when he understands the laws of social development and learns to enforce them deliberately and systematically, he "leaves the animal kingdom for good and moves from animal conditions of existence into truly human ones."¹⁰ Only the combination between scientific-technical progress and social progress, between the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of the socialist social system, into a uniform current of revolutionary changes making for the formation and consolidation of socialist and communist social relations can thus guarantee real and all-inclusive freedom and active humanism.

Scientific-Technical Progress -- Rationality -- Humanity

If the meaning of freedom only is to make well informed decisions, and if it is possible, on the basis of socialist production relations, to shape socialist development systematically, then the question is: To what extent can the development of science and technology also be shaped systematically in the interest of social progress?

The principle of science planning made its first explicit appearance in 1918, in a government document on science policy, Lenin's "Draft for a Plan for Scientific-Technical Projects."¹¹ That was not a coincidence. Under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, society in socialism proceeds toward consciously controlling its own social relations and to shape and direct their development systematically. Carrying out rationally and systematically the overall social process in socialism, in accordance with scientific principles, makes it necessary also to shape systematically the development of science and technology as parts of overall social development.

An important precondition for directing and planning this development in accordance with uniform principles and proceeding from overall social interests and needs is the existence of socialist production relations. The public ownership in the means of production makes possible an overall social will and produces overall social interests and needs which belong among the decisive impulses for social and hence, for scientific-technical, progress in the developed socialist society. The leadership role of the workers class guarantees that social development in general, and the development of science and technology in particular, proceed in conformity with these interests and needs. Thereby the process of history, and with it also scientific-technical progress, enter the field of rational control, and science in socialism reaches a new level of its freedom. The freedom in the development of science and research lies not in a dreamt independence of the laws and requirements of social and science development, but in the comprehension of these laws and the possibilities that provides, as do the social relations in socialism, for using them systematically on behalf of scientific-technical progress and of man. And that is what makes science controllable, not only in terms of single individual acts of scientific activity, but in terms of the social premises and consequences and of the internal cohesion of the totality of scientific work processes. In contrast to capitalism, thus, socialist society can, in principle, control science with the identical sovereignty with which it controls the other domains of public life.

We said "in principle," and that means: to the extent that we already know the inevitabilities in science development. However, science and its development have themselves been subject of intensive research for but a few decades; we do thus far not know all that much about the inevitabilities of science development. It is certain, for example, that scientific planning has to derive research tasks "always also from the needs of society, the reproduction conditions of the socialist economy and the stage of development in any given science discipline."¹² This means its so-called inherent dynamics or its own

intrinsic laws, or "inner logic," cannot be the sole criterion for the systematic promotion of science development. Socialist science policy cannot confine itself to anticipating as best it can the further development of science and technology, thought of as proceeding in a linear fashion, and to prevent, if need be, undesirable developments. Science policy decisions informed with expertise and with the knowledge of social requirements and conditions must take into account the internal developmental needs of science itself as well as the social requirements and objectives, for the purpose of which one is engaged in science in the first place. Therefore, today, in the field of basic research, it becomes more and more a matter of elucidating and utilizing alternative ways of development for science and technology, while proceeding from the requirements of socialist production relations and on the basis of our political, economic, intellectual-cultural and other objectives, so as to gradually create the material-technical base of communism.¹³ More and more it becomes a matter of accelerating the whole cycle made up of basic research, scientific-technical development and the application of research results to practice, and a matter of applying the scientific-technical progress to the intensification of all domains of our national economy.

The planning of scientific-technical progress in socialism thus implies freedom in science policy decisions in two ways. First, there is all the more freedom, the more accurate and the greater the social, political, economic, scientific and technical-technological expertise is by which science policy decisions are made. The freedom of decision is all the greater, the more clearly its necessity is recognized. Second, the freedom in science policy decisions is reflected in the fact that science and technology can seek alternative ways of development, and the appropriate decision criteria have to be supplied for them. All that is needed for this are economic criteria.

Imperialist science policy, under a double-bind, from its class conflict with socialism and from state monopoly mechanisms toward maximizing the profits, has long proceeded toward partial control and planning in the development of science and technology. It is found time and again, however, that overall social planning for science and technology development borne by the principles of humanity can follow neither the criteria of pure rationality nor those of maximizing profits, but that it needs socioeconomic prerequisites that simply do not exist under capitalism. Considerable successes have no doubt been achieved in leading capitalist countries in the scientific-technical field as well as in production management. Yet it can be seen ever more clearly that scientific-technical progress there leads to an intensification of the antagonistic contradictions in the capitalist system.

In the socialist states the systematic development of science and technology proceeds neither in the interest of maximizing profits nor in the interest of rationality, for its own sake. The pivotal point for the work of the communist parties and all state organs in these countries is man himself. Rationality and the systematic development of science and technology in these countries thus are an expression of the humanity of this social order.

Higher economic rationality is a decisive criterion in the developed socialist society for accelerating scientific-technical progress. It serves the basic humanistic concern of socialist society to do everything for the good of the people. While we are implementing economic and social policy in inseparable unity and are struggling for a high growth and efficiency of production, we are at the same time establishing important preconditions for systematically improving the working people's working and living conditions and for steadily raising the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living. Higher economic rationality made possible by scientific-technical progress thus becomes prerequisite to bringing to realization a social policy that is based on the principles of humanity.

A science policy based on rationality and humanity, and guided by what a humanistic social policy needs, thus may show new ways of development and of acceleration to scientific-technical progress through decisions that are free as they are based on expertise and the recognition of social necessities.

Thus we find scientific-technical progress and freedom in a close dialectical interrelationship. Scientific-technical progress per se by no means leads to the liberation of man from social inequality, it does not automatically change society, however vociferously such a claim was raised in recent decades by the bourgeois science euphoria. Nor does it automatically produce those global manifestations of crisis by which today's bourgeois science pessimism seeks to cover up the economic and social crisis manifestations in the capitalist world. Scientific-technical progress leads to greater freedom in the control of men's natural and social relations only through being combined with social progress, with the achievements of the socialist system of society. That means, in application to the present epoch: if it is carried out on behalf of working man, with the aim of establishing such social conditions "in which, on the basis of steadily progressing insights in science and technology, the productive forces, the sources of social wealth, are systematically developed and used with the highest efficiency on behalf of the good of men."¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, pp 58-59.
2. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1962, p 106.
3. Ibid.
4. Erich Honecker, "About the Results of the 25th CPSU Congress," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 March 1976, p 5.
5. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1958, p 423.

6. Friedrich Engels, "The Dialectics of Nature," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vbl 20, p 508.
7. D. Gabor, U. Colombo et al, "Das Ende der Verschwendung. Zur materiellen Lage der Menschheit. Ein Tatsachenbericht an den Club of Rome" (The End of Waste--On the Material Situation of Mankind--A Factual Report to the Club of Rome), Stuttgart, 1976, p 247.
8. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," loc. cit., p 264.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Draft for a Plan for Scientific-Technical Projects," "Werke," Vol 27, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1960, pp 312-313.
12. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, p 48.
13. Cf. D. M. Gwischiani, "Alternatives in Science and Technology and the Role of the Social Sciences," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 12, 1976, p 1248.
14. G. Boehme, W. van den Daels and W. Krohn, "The Finalization of Science," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER SOZIOLOGIE, Stuttgart, No 2, 1973, p 133.
15. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., pp 73-74.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN LIGHT OF TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 11 Mar 77
pp 441-450

[Article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, program head, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, SED Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences: "Human Labor and Progress of Technology"]

[Text] The relations between man and technology can be explained only from the real interrelations in the process of production under specific social relations. Bourgeois ideology is unable to do so. In confrontation with the conclusions, utopian-reactionary in nature, which bourgeois ideologists have drawn from the capitalist use of technology, the author shows how, by doing away with the capitalist mode of the means of production, the man-technology relations change fundamentally. The possibilities of socialism must be used still more purposefully for enhancing the social and economic effectiveness of scientific-technical progress.

The importance of science and technology in enhancing the development of our socialist society is emphatically emphasized in the Ninth SED Congress resolutions. Comrade Honecker recalled the fundamental Marxist-Leninist insight "that all social progress must be based on the development of the productive forces."¹ Logically, "the further perfection of the material-technical base is a decisive element of the SED's social policy as aimed at the good of the people."² The correctness of that policy has found its unequivocal confirmation through the practical experiences we have made especially since the Eighth Party Congress. The important advances made in all areas of public life can, for all intents and purposes, be explained by our having succeeded, under party leadership, for the good of the people, and focusing on the workers class and all working people, in consistently integrating science and technology with the overall process of our social development, successfully countering any tendencies on the part of scientific-technical progress toward becoming independent or isolated from other domains of public life and thus, in visibly accelerating scientific-technical progress.

We have taken important steps toward establishing a practical connection between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism. Our results in this field are part of the practical and historical evidence showing socialism, in essence, belonging together with the scientific-technical revolution. This means that, on the one hand, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is the decisive objective foundation for the development of all advantages and impulses of socialism and, on the other hand, scientific-technical progress, for its unobstructed development, needs socialist social relations. The nucleus in this interconnection is the new, socialist kind of relationship between man and technology, between live and embodied labor.

Socialism has brought about a profound change in the working people's attitude toward scientific-technical progress. This new attitude is needed for systematically reaching the far-reaching goals. To have science and technology become ingrained in everyone, as it were, that is one of the fundamental preconditions for successfully solving the tasks posed by the Ninth Party Congress for the further shaping of developed socialist society. It is all the more necessary therefore for the social sciences to pay more attention to the relations between man and technology, to "the dialectics in the relations between live and embodied labor."³ We are in this context interested in a very far-flung set of questions extending from ideologically comprehending man's possibilities in an environment which he himself is turning more and more into a technological environment all the way to the questions on the practical organization of labor, the scientific labor organization. Ultimately all these questions come to how the principal attention given to the material or embodied elements of the productive forces -- the material-technical base of production -- is compatible with our concept of man as the chief productive force of society, how one can combine practically the qualitative perfection of the material-technical base with enhancing the development of socialist personalities and socialist collective relations in labor.

The Dialectics of Live and Embodied Labor

The relations between live and embodied labor, between man and technology, can properly be explained only from their real interrelations in the production process. Live labor is a process of confrontation between man and nature in which man transforms natural resources into intrinsic values serving the satisfaction of human needs. The object of labor (the workpiece or such) is not always, however, some untouched natural resource. With the increasing progress in the productive forces, it is more and more found changed and shaped already by human labor. Man, furthermore, employs tools which in general also are products of human labor. Live labor thus also always is appropriation of embodied labor. And embodied labor is nothing else but the live labor of earlier periods, stored-up production stages. Labor embodied in the means of production fulfills its purpose only by contact with live labor, as its means or its object. "Yarn that remains unwoven or unknitted is cotton that is spoilt. Live labor must seize these objects, recall them from the dead. Singed by the fire of labor, they are consumed too, to be sure, but purposefully so, as formative elements for new intrinsic values."⁴

Simultaneously, however, live labor always also is a process of the embodying of human capabilities, of natural human capacities. The process of labor "is extinguished in the product. Labor has become one with its object. It has become embodied, the object has become processed. That which had appeared in the form of unrest on the part of the laborer, now appears in its state of rest, its form of being, as a product. He had woven, and the product of his weaving is a web."⁵ Marx called "the history of industry and the reified, embodied existence of industry the open book of natural human capacities."⁶

Bourgeois ideology proves incapable of properly interpreting the elemental interrelations between live and embodied labor, between man and technology. Its theses either turn into a metaphysical contrast between man and technology which hardly leaves a clue about the origin, let alone the true function, of technology, or the relations are presented in a manner that blurs the contours so much that one can no longer see either the role of technology in this, or that of man.

And the mystification of the man-technology relation is revealed by no means only in presenting human relations as relations between things, but also in what appears to be the very opposite of it: technology, machinery is "humanized," demonized; quasi human abilities are attributed to it, intrinsic autonomous laws, or what appears to be a will of its own (in most cases, an ill will). The "cold world of the machines" is said to be pressing in on people and moving into the center of all public life, pushing man out into the periphery.

Wilhelm Dettmering, chairman of the West German Association of German Engineers, says: "The leading technological nations in the world are terrified in realizing how much power technology has handed over to them for shaping the sphere of human existence. As technology, mainly in the most recent past, has by and large developed out of its very own dynamics, it has increasingly distanced itself from the objectives that would be socially desirable." (W. Dettmering, "Technical Developments Today and the Requirements of Society," UNIVERSITAS, Stuttgart, No 30, 1975, p 717).

This distortion of the relation between man and technology has come into vogue especially in the more recent past. Particularly, it has to do with the fact that through automation, functions in the direct steering and control of production processes have been turned over to the machines. Mechanization -- the transition from craft to machine production -- affected only the physical component of human labor capacity; the increased function as between man and machine seemed clear and unproblematic. Through automation, however, technical devices now receive labor functions that concern the mental-intellectual component of human labor. Technology enters areas which heretofore seemed uncontestedly reserved for human labor. And here precisely also is the point where the blurring of the boundaries and differences between man and machine sets in in which bourgeois ideology has so intensively been engaged in recent years: If a man, separated from a machine by a screen, gets answers to his questions that are "logical and reasonable," one could, in view of such a state of affairs, presumably no longer distinguish between a man and a respondent, even if the respondent is a machine. So, roughly runs the "classical" argument bourgeois ideology adduces to prove the "humanization" of technology.

That fact now that machines can perform operations which in the past were in the preserve of man by no means indicates that the machines are "becoming human." Nor can, vice versa, the qualitative difference between the machine and human labor be determined through who can perform or not perform (or rather, can perform better or less well) what kind of operations. It is precisely the fact that there are, by turning over mental-intellectual labor functions to technical devices, in principle no labor functions that machines could not handle, which brings out the essential difference between men and the machine. The difference lies in that the tools simply always are tools of human labor (there is no difference in that respect between the stone axe of primitive man and a modern EDP machinery). Precisely the enormous progress of science and technology, the increasing fascination with technological solutions, make necessary the emphasis on the decisive role live human labor has to play in the process of the confrontation between man and nature. This means two things: First, we are dealing here with the process of man's confrontation with nature. The ends and aims in this process are human, are social: tools and work objects are means and products of human labor. Second, not only in terms of their origin are the machines products of man; the entire process of confrontation between man and nature finds its sole source of motion in human labor. It is and remains the "vivifying fire" of production, its creative factor. In this, technical development will never make any change.

The advancing transfer of human labor functions to technical means -- which constitutes the general content in scientific-technical progress -- is something that bourgeois ideology likes to interpret as a decrease of importance in live labor. So they are saying about automation that while it, admittedly, is a "leap forward," it yet had the effect "that human labor is getting less and less important in essential areas." This development presumably had something to do with the "depersonalization of man by the robot," and so forth.⁷

To prove such theses they time and again adduce manifestations of increasing objectification in the production processes. Scientific-technical progress, in its general content, being a progressive transfer of human labor functions to technical devices, and man's effects on nature proceeding more and more by machine systems, by controlled natural processes as such, the production results are of course more and more determined by the technical-economic parameters of the production facilities. And especially when the transition is made to self-regulating and automatic control devices, one may actually speak of a leap into the objectification of the production processes. Mechanization frees production from the physical barriers of the human labor capacity and automation, from certain barriers of the intellectual labor capacity. But does this mean a reduction in the economic effects of live human labor? Does the increasing direct dependence of production results (volume, quality and costs of products) on the parameters of the machines mean that the concrete manner in which people conduct themselves in the labor process has less an influence on production? Assuming that to be so would mean equating the increasingly direct and immediate effect man has on the object of his activities with a reduced influence exercised by him. But that is false. Tools "reinforce" human activity. The more efficient they are, the greater also are the economic effects of live labor, in the positive as well as

the negative sense. The fundamental effect of scientific-technical progress lies in the growing importance of live human labor. The sense of responsibility, education and skills, creative and active conduct, the ability of independent study -- all these things are becoming ever more important, but economically they are being realized more and more indirectly, via the qualifications of the means of production created by men and their rational utilization.

That kind of an explanation of live labor -- which simply does not presuppose any derogation of embodied labor but clearly brings out the dialectical relations between live and embodied labor -- can also place the role of science and technology in the proper light: The productivity of live labor is increased mainly through investing human labor, quantitatively and qualitatively, with technical means. "In contradistinction to all other living beings, adjusting to their environment only biologically, man as a species, genotypically speaking, virtually remains unchanged and adjusts socially to his environment by mainly transforming the production process" (I. T. Frolov, "The Perspectives of Man," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 2, 1976, p 159). The progress of mankind, borne by increasing productivity, is hardly based at all on biological inheritance, but rather on the incessantly swelling stream of accumulating human experiences and knowledge, handed on from generation to generation, "socially inherited," as it were, and on the uninterrupted (expanded) reproduction of an environment affected by man through his labor, unchanged as compared to its primitive stage and, to a very considerable degree, created by man himself, with its core being the material-technical base of production. Man's affecting his environment does not only amount to his creating production installations, building cities and villages, roads, bridges, and viaducts; he has more and more deliberately put his mark on the development of plants and animals through his work, forests and rivers he has made to serve his purposes, and vast land areas he has put to economic use.

The natural environment has thus long been included in the economic cycle. Hardly anything is left, at least not in our latitudes, of "untouched nature." It is important to point this out to realize how untenable the notions are that come down to a revival of the reactionary thesis of "back to nature." The economic, political and moral superiority of socialism will still more clearly be revealed in the future in that it guarantees a rational relation between society and nature that insures human progress, and which includes the preservation and care of nature on behalf of the future generations of mankind. Decisive premises for that are a development of science and technology that takes its clues from human needs and an optimistic and constructive attitude toward scientific-technical progress as is possible only in socialism.

Scientific-Technical Progress and Society

Technology and means of production are not only labor objects and tools in the process of confrontation between man and nature. They are at the same time the decisive object of property, and the property relations in turn form

the core of men's production relations; they, in the complicated total system of social relations ultimately constitute the real determinants. That means of course that the true role of ownership in the means of production cannot be understood as long as the importance and function of embodied labor in the process of confrontation between man and nature is not clear.

A machine, therefore, is not only a machine. Under capitalist conditions it is at the same time capital, that is, a tool for the exploitation and suppression of man. That also means the relations between capital and labor hide behind the relations between the machine and man; the social characteristics of capital are revealed in terms of any given technological regimen, in the particular way in which the cooperation between man and machinery is organized. The properties of capital appear as properties of technology. And bourgeois ideology is diligently at work seeking to reinforce this theoretical-ideological illusion (which, however, stems from objective relations). Capitalism, it is obvious, will never quite get rid of the machine-wreckers' ideology. One of the most recent versions of that ideology is the demand for eliminating the so-called "hard technology" and to move into "soft technology." About the hard technology they are saying it had "departed from its proper function of serving man and made itself independent, justifying itself by objective constraints, the consequence being alienated labor and man's adapting himself to machines, which is wasting man in the production process. Thus technology today was largely unsocial and inhuman, suppressing the socially weak and the not fully efficient, such as the early retirees, the aged, the sick, the migration workers and the children too. Basic to this development everywhere was the prevailing profit drive. Therefore, ever more expensive and gigantic technical projects were being undertaken and technology was being propagated as a panacea, the world was being glutted with unnecessary and inferior products, which was wasting human and natural resources and producing a creeping contamination of the environment, dangerously upsetting the earth's ecological equilibrium."⁸

That doubtless is, by and large, an apt description of the capitalist use of technology. The authors, however, hardly draw any anticapitalist conclusions, let alone prosocialist ones, from their analysis. The reference to the profit principle loses all value as a sociopolitical remark by the claim that it allegedly prevailed everywhere. To socialism, they impute it had failed thus far in fulfilling Marx' call for abolishing human alienation; they say it showed "features destructive to the environment and man similar to those under capitalism."⁹ And so they are directing their thesis against technology (more precisely: against "hard technology"). "Technological freedom becomes 'unfreedom.' Technology burdens man and nature to an unprecedented degree. The more technology develops, and the more sophisticated and specialized it becomes, the more dependent and helpless the individuals become in facing it."¹⁰ And what is the way out? The "soft technology" it is -- the "medium" or "rural" or "human" or "ecological" technology -- an agriculture without mineral fertilizers, resorting to the use of wind-wheels and the like, auto-generated electric energy and so forth. These theories are obviously utopian-reactionary in their objectives. There are two reasons why they are wrong:

First, there is a misinterpretation of the general possibilities and necessities stemming from the inherent logic in the development of the productive forces -- granted that they can be brought to realization unhampered only under certain social preconditions. The progress of science and technology keeps tapping new sources for increasing yields of human labor and thus, for the enrichment and beautification of human existence.

Scientific-technical progress does of course mean an increasing interference with the natural cycles, which reduces nature's ability to maintain the natural equilibrium out of its own inner resources, without man's help. Yet there remains a general trend out of which grow the possibilities offered by scientific-technical progress for protecting the natural environment, for strengthening nature's regenerative powers. Were it merely a matter of technical solutions available, then even at today's stage of industrial development the river water could be almost as clean as 50 years ago. That this is not the case has principally social causes in imperialism; its profit oriented production obstructs appropriate progress. This barrier does not exist in socialism. And the socialist countries have indeed done outstandingly well in the protection and shaping of the environment.¹¹ If there is this problem nonetheless, it is because at the current stage of development, the solution of these tasks does not proceed faster than the limited economic resources allow. Economic growth is needed also for being able to afford the increasing expenditures for environmental protection.

In its general and overriding tendency, scientific-technical progress produces ever new and greater possibilities for qualitative improvements in what it is engaged in -- the reduction and elimination of health hazards and of heavy physical or intellectually monotonous work, the enrichment of labor through intellectual-creative elements, the expansion of the margin for decision-making, and the assumption of active attitudes in the labor process. The qualitative changes in the productive forces, as they are taking place under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution, logically call for social relations -- that is, socialist relations -- which facilitate the emergence of a new type of producer: responsible, highly educated and engaged in creative and conscious activities. There is no reason at all to criticize scientific-technical progress per se, stop its development or reverse it (turning it back to the Middle Ages).

Second, the ideas referred to are false also because they do not reveal the true causes of the social ills they pretend to be fighting against. Instead, they are obscuring those causes. The relations between man and technology, between live and embodied labor, are determined by the property relations and the political power relations suiting them. As long as the accumulated embodied labor of former generations, materializing the stored-up knowledge of all human history thus far, is the monopoly of one class, the capitalist class, the function of live labor is determined accordingly: it is a means for augmenting capital. The fruits of the labor of former generations -- embodied labor --, having been turned into capital, are used to feed the fruits of live labor -- the labor of the contemporary generation -- into capital.

The materialized factors created through labor do not belong to the laborer; they belong to the non-laborer, the capitalist. The labor product does not belong to the producer, it constitutes not merely a product of value to be used, it constitutes capital, a hostile power, alien to the laborer. In capitalism, the "worker exists for the utilization needs of values available instead of material wealth, vice versa, existing for the workers' developmental needs."¹² "In bourgeois society, living labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In communist society accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer. In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society the present dominates the past."¹³ That also sufficiently explains the phenomenon of so-called "alienation," meaning that the products of man's labor confront him as external, alien and hostile powers, that man thus falls under the domination of his own creations, that human relations appear as relations among things.

Bourgeois ideology, untiringly, keeps presenting the alienation of man from himself and his environment -- partly by distorted references to Karl Marx -- principally as an outcome of technical development; in recent decades it has done so with particular tenacity. Yet alienation is no technical phenomenon, nor one that has technical causes, but it is a social phenomenon. Not the "assembly line," not "large-scale technology," not "hard technology," nor even merely the fact that "human essential capabilities" get embodied in objects that gain a life independent of their creators, cause alienation, but the separation of man from the embodied factors of his labor does, that is, the private property. There and only there has alienation its cause where man's products are capital, a power hostile and alien to man, where man cannot work, and hence not live, without constantly augmenting and consolidating that power which dominates and enslaves him, and which wears out his physical and intellectual strength, through his own work. The worker's alienation expresses itself not only in the alienation of the product from the producer, "not only in the result, but in the act of production, within productive activity itself."¹⁴ It expresses itself in that the worker "does not feel affirmed in his labor but negated, not well but unhappy, that he develops no free physical and intellectual energy but wrecks his body and ruins his spirit. Thus only outside of his work the laborer feels his own self yet while at work, feels outside himself. And so his work is not the satisfaction of a need but a means for satisfying needs outside his work. And finally the external aspect of labor for the worker appears in that it is not his own but that of someone else, that it does not belong to him and that, while in it, he does not belong to himself but to someone else."¹⁵

The basic theoretical-methodological error in the statements by the anti-socialist ideology on the relation between man and technology, between live and embodied labor, is that it is not integrated with the dialectical reciprocity between the development of the productive forces and the production relations. That is to say, rash and direct conclusions with respect to a change in man's social conditions of existence are drawn from the development of "technology" or "science" while property relations and political power relations are ignored.

In the meantime practical experience has clearly shown that a fundamental change occurs in the relations between man and technology and in the attitude of the working people toward scientific-technical progress when the capitalist character of the means of production is done away with. That is the outcome of a complicated process: of the practical experience that technical progress and rationalization here do not lead to unemployment, that good work pays, and also of the theoretical, political insights into the nature of the new order, the conditions of the international class struggle. The transformation of labor into "labor for itself" (directly or indirectly), the increasing satisfaction the working people find in their work, is the most important source for the new, socialist conditions of life. One out of every four working people, one out of every three youths in the GDR, are participating today in the innovator movement, which brings in a good one-third of the national revenue increase. That would of course be inconceivable under social conditions where, as Marx once said, foodstuffs are constantly knocked out of the workers' hands.

Especially with regard to work the people's living conditions in the capitalist countries differ fundamentally from those in the socialist countries. And the differences are becoming ever more pronounced. Whereas here working conditions are systematically being improved -- for example, jobs are purposefully being reorganized with the help of scientific labor organization -- and the number of work-related accidents went down, from 1971 to 1975 alone, by almost 20 percent, the working people in the capitalist countries have to resist the further deterioration of their working conditions. At the DGB conference on "humanizing labor" in May 1974, the chairman, Heinz Oskar Vetter, pointed out that the number of prematurely disabled had gone up and "the health of the working population has deteriorated and the working people's expectations of life went down in spite of the progress in medicine."¹⁶ "In some areas, things have become so tense that a spark would be enough to cause an explosion. I may remind you of sporadic strikes last summer as a warning signal. And it was not just a matter of wages but also, of working conditions. And we have to admit that the process of division of labor and of the routinization of work operations is progressing."¹⁷ The capitalist economic crisis has meanwhile rapidly worsened the prospects for achieving improvements in working conditions. "The humanizing of jobs, the abolition of the assembly line terror -- all that has a stale smell to one million unemployed. The crisis has reversed the workers' pyramid of needs. Now one is looking just for a job, and for the time being one also accepts the assembly line," as FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU wrote on 30 August 1975.

Practical experience is teaching us at the same time that the great possibilities of the socialist order must be purposefully and systematically used to insure a high social and economic effectiveness of scientific-technical progress. Considerable efforts are needed for insuring in the overall preparation and implementation process of scientific-technical measures a consistent focusing of these measures on the conditions and requirements of social development. It becomes clearer all the time that controlling the interrelations between scientific-technical and social progress belongs among the most important, demanding and complicated tasks in the management of social developmental processes in socialism.

The purposeful social orientation of scientific-technical progress requires unequivocal, ambitious, concrete lead points set for the effects to be reached. With the increasing maturation of socialist society, the circle of social criteria for scientific-technical progress has widened. With the noticeably increased demands for improving the economic effectiveness of scientific-technical progress -- resulting from higher demands by all domains of public life, without any exception, on the capability of socialist society --, two other criteria at the same time are coming to the fore: the improvement in material working conditions and the protection of the natural environment. For reaching a high economic and social effectiveness of scientific-technical progress, those technical solutions are gaining in importance which to a large extent satisfy all three criteria.

Higher Demands on the Socialist Sense of Responsibility

A reasonable relationship with the objects that are surrounding us -- raw materials and tools and also the objects we are dealing with at home, in our leisure time -- is an important aspect of the socialist way of life. The most important thing is that in socialism the right of disposition no longer grants anyone any power over man, so that ultimately things lose their power over man altogether and regain their original purpose, as it were, in making work more productive and substantive and life, more pleasant and meaningful.

This "dethroning" of objects, the abolition of their domination of man, in no way means they are deprecated. On the contrary: Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of live labor in the living process of society as of the individual only opens up to us a reasonable relationship to embodied labor seen as the live labor of the past. The appreciation for the labor of others, in conformity with the economic requirements and with the demands of socialist morality, must be reflected throughout progressive technical development in a rational mode of operating the machines, in saving of materials and in the delivery of products, proper as to quality, to subsequent producers. However we may account now, statistically, for the increase in labor productivity, about one thing there is no doubt: The economy of embodied labor has become the main source for the reduction of the total investment of public labor per product and thus, for the increase in labor productivity. Productivity is a property of live labor only (machines are not productive), it finds expression, however, in the saving in live as well as embodied labor, with the saving in embodied labor further growing in importance.

While in socialism, from the vantage point of social relations, the connections between live and embodied labor, between man and technology, are transparent and intelligible, one still must not ignore certain phenomena that are complicating these connections.

Scientific-technical progress brings it about that human labor operations and operations affecting the object of labor directly are more and more applied through tools, machines, complex aggregates, or controlled natural processes.

When there is such an energy increase, when the value of the machinery man sets in motion is growing so much and the economic effects of human action become so much greater (as also do the failures), then the technological processes involved are less clearly discernible, the sense perception of them is reduced. The direction and control of enormous potentials often go through computer operations, through optical and acoustical signals, through the pushing of knobs and keys, the handling of levers and switches. Apart from the conclusions that would have to apply to the design of such complicated machinery, which has to minimize the damage unthinking reactions might cause, it follows also that one of the most demanding tasks in socialist management activities is to make those who operate such installations aware of their responsibility and, at the same time, to enable them to take care of such responsibility. The most general precondition for it is expertise, that is to say, as accurate a theoretical model as possible of the actually occurring technological processes that cannot be envisaged, a high political-moral sense of responsibility and, of course, the readiness (in character and psychological aptitude) for meeting that responsibility. Complicated problems arise from this for management activities, for the education and self-education of socialist personalities, as neither a shirking of responsibility nor insouciance in supervising and controlling large production installations may be tolerated.

New complicated problems in man's relations with the material environment also stem from the qualitatively new conditions of the relationship between production and natural resources. Water and air (more precisely: pure water and clean air) no longer come free of charge. In mining raw materials we are going into deeper layers and more remote areas, and we are dealing with deposits of lesser yield, so that we shall have to expect an increasing labor expenditure per resource unit. All this calls for a consistent position toward resource-saving growth, ultimately in the interest of saving live labor per product, increasing productivity and **thus**, a higher rate of well-being for the people. It altogether asks for a more aware attitude toward the natural environment in the interest of man today and of the future generations.

The material environment, insofar as man has created it, is a material culture, is embodied human creativity. Social aspirations, ethical values and esthetic ideals have formed within it. The development of the socialist way of life is largely determined by the fact that in the things that men create, or by which they surround themselves, our ideological convictions, practical purposes and esthetic expression fuse together. The ability to let oneself get inspired by things and, on the other hand, to imprint upon them in a meaningful manner the mark of our personal experiences and attitudes, is an inseparable element of our socialist personality development, of our active appropriation of the material environment.

Our experiences, especially since the Eighth Party Congress, clearly confirm that the economic and social effectiveness of scientific-technical progress decisively depends on our ability to use science and technology purposefully for the total process of our social development. "It may be said that great scientific-technical achievements embody a fundamental social need of our entire thrust forward. Looked at from there, our party does its best in accelerating the development of science and technology in our country, alongside the Soviet Union, in the interest of men, and to use it with great social effectiveness."¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, p 69.
2. Ibid., p 49.
3. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, p 33.
4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1962, p 198.
5. Ibid., p 195.
6. Karl Marx, "Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts from the Year 1844," Marx/Engels, "Werke," supplementary volume, first part, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1968, p 542.
7. J. Leclercq, "Die Revolution des Menschen im 20. Jahrhundert" (Man's Revolution in the 20th Century), Trier, 1965, p 180 and p 1.
8. Prokol-Gruppe-Berlin, "Der sanfte Weg. Technik in einer neuen Gesellschaft" (The Soft Way--Technology in a New Society), Stuttgart, 1976, p 13.
9. Ibid., p 28.
10. Ibid., p 11.
11. On the results and joint projects of the CEMA countries in this field, cf. Guido Thoms, "Environmental Protection and the Mining Industry," DIE WIRTSCHAFT, No 17, 1975 (supplement).
12. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, loc. cit., p 649.
13. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1959, p 476.
14. Karl Marx, "Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts . . .," op. cit., p 514.
15. Ibid.
16. Heinz Oskar Vetter, ed., "Humanisierung der Arbeit als gesellschaftspolitische und gewerkschaftliche Aufgabe. Protokoll der Konferenz des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes vom 16. und 17. Mai 1974 in Muenchen" (Humanizing Labor as a Sociopolitical and Trade Union Task--Proceedings of the DGB Conference, 16-17 May 1974, in Munich), Frankfurt/Main, 1974, p 30.
17. Ibid., p 31.
18. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 73.

EAST GERMANY

SIGNIFICANCE OF NATIONAL CULTURE IN SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 11 Mar 77
pp 458-467

[Article by GDR Minister for Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of SED Central Committee; and Dr Werner Kuehn, secretary, minister's Council for Culture: "Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism in Our Cultural Policy." For related information see JPRS 68886, 6 Apr 77, No 1375 of this series, pp 71-84]

[Text] The unity and reciprocity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism more and more determine the form and content of our socialist national culture. That connects with decisive problems in the shaping of the socialist way of life and the ideological development of art. In cultural interrelations among the socialist countries we also have entered a new phase which is marked more and more by cooperation and common purposes.

Making our socialist fatherland ever more stable, beautiful and rich, more fully cultured, requires the continued systematic development of socialist culture in all vital areas of our society, in all territories, wherever people work, live and come together. Important qualitative changes are involved in our intellectual-cultural life -- as in our national economy -- which are directed at improving steadily the material and cultural conditions of life, building up the social relations and deepening socialist consciousness.

As the Ninth Party Congress decisions have clearly revealed, our party always follows the fundamental insights of Marxism-Leninism and its own as well as the international experiences of the revolutionary workers movement, to the effect that the national question and the other question that is closely connected with it, that of the fatherland and of patriotism, the development of a genuine national culture, are an important aspect of the proletarian class struggle. For our socialist fatherland, the GDR, this is also the arena for meeting our internationalist class obligation of bringing to realization

true freedom, democracy and humanity through the construction of socialism, safeguarding peace and steadily improving the material and cultural standard of living of the working people.

The unity and reciprocity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism more and more mark and determine the form and content of our socialist national culture. The experiences of our cultural progress since the Eighth Party Congress justify us in speaking of the steadily increasing importance of socialist culture and art in the shaping of the developed socialist society as well as of the mutual enrichment through the contacts with the national cultures of the other socialist countries, this being a long-range and multilayered, yet in principle still uniform, process. The Ninth Party Congress worked out the great and growing contribution by socialist culture to the emergence of the socialist nation and pointed out that today the problems of the particular and the common, the dialectics between the national and the international, and the unity of patriotism and internationalism, have become more strongly than ever a basic theoretical as well as wholly practical question also for the cultural development in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. And especially today a historically new mark and advantage of our socialist culture, compared with all cultures of previous societies, merit the greatest attention: Through the creative work in which the broad popular masses are engaged, more and more common features, rich in contours and clearly discernible, present themselves to us in the blossoming of the socialist cultures in all fraternal countries in terms of their social sources, their contents, their social function and position, and in the practical performance by which art is produced.¹

At the same time the successes of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements in the capitalist countries and the strengthening of the national liberation movements also offer ever broader possibilities for developing the unity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Let us only recall the important role our support for the struggling Chilean people plays in our cultural life. The reason that we refer here mainly to the culture of the fraternal socialist countries is that in the further shaping of its new qualities lies one of the most important preconditions for the further reinforcement of socialist and anti-imperialist world culture.

In the social practice of real socialism, here and in the other socialist states, the trend toward what we all have in common is becoming ever more evident. While a specific area, the sphere of culture still is no exception. Nor is this merely a matter of cultural relations or cultural exchange, important though that is too. We regard this process, practically as well as theoretically, mainly as a process of rapprochement and enrichment, of developing what there is fundamentally in common in the contents of the various national cultures by the full unfolding of their national expression and richness in forms. One of the fundamental and determinant cultural processes in the shaping of the developed socialist society is taking place with the all round and reciprocal interpenetration of our socialist national culture with the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. This brings up many new questions for studying its inevitabilities and for structuring our intellectual-cultural life and for the management and planning of cultural policy.

Culture, in providing the experience and comprehension of what the GDR means as our socialist fatherland, with conviction, full expression and strong sentiment, and through the various direct and indirect possibilities it has, in creating pride in the historic changes achieved, and in tracing the profound changes in the thinking, feeling and acting of people, is making an important contribution to the formation of socialist personality, its socialist national consciousness, and its patriotism and internationalism. That is a profoundly ideological question, not of cognition alone, but of a whole web of empirical experiences, habits and customs, emotions and moods, as they are expressed in a culture and molded by it. To make such consciousness and sentiment pervasive and permanent and keep them on the high level of the demands of our times and our development, a well developed wealth of differentiated cultural needs and value concepts is needed that would be appropriate to the developed socialist society.

To us this is also especially important because we are in a historically early stage in the GDR in developing and forming our socialist German nation, our socialist national culture and a socialist national consciousness, and this process goes on along with a constantly modified harsh class confrontation with an experienced ruling monopoly bourgeoisie and its apologists in an imperialist German state. It proceeds in conflict with the anticommunist, nationalistic and chauvinist theses of the alleged "unity of the German cultural nation," of keeping "the German question open," which have to be unmasked ever anew through constant intellectual struggle, a conflict in need of the steady development, cogent presentation and thorough theoretical substantiation of our socialist national culture in the GDR.

Culture and the Way of Life

In its program, the party has defined the molding of the socialist way of life, inseparably connected with the development of socialist personalities, whose thoughts and actions are marked by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, as a condition and objective for further social progress. We count among its basic elements: work on behalf of socialist society, a high level of education and culture, manifold intellectual-cultural interests and needs, the indispensable knowledge and premises for the development of human creativity and all the people's talents, and a vivid and interesting dispensation of the scientific working class world-outlook.

To think and act in the spirit of socialist patriotism, as a conscious and active patriotism, is inconceivable without the cultural elements taking effect. It cannot succeed without them. As all other socialist countries, we are now at a social stage of development where we must more accurately elaborate and deliberately develop the cultural aspects and relations, effects and stimuli of the various sides and manifestations of the socialist way of life, in order to provide with ever better forms what amounts to the home, the socialist fatherland, of working men. This is more than a home to which one feels tied because one was born and grew up there. This is safety, social security and a secure future. These are the social conditions for a life in human dignity,

for the unobstructed development of all creative abilities, gifts and talents. These are the social conditions where labor challenges man's creative capacities because it is free from exploitation, the profit drive and competition, for here man knows he is respected and well placed.

The by no means slight cultural aspects in the housing question, in city construction and urbanization have much to do with this matter concerning the mutual connection between cultural policy and patriotism. It can be seen, for example, in the gratifying effects the principle of socialist urban construction has had, which urges a productive respect for all achievements of the past, whereby cities and towns are helped in preserving their indigenous, historically grown appearance and -- as in Wismar and elsewhere -- an unmistakeable piece of hometown is being preserved and renewed at one and the same time. That also applies to the design for the newly developing residential area of Rostock-Evershagen, where artists were involved, from the very start, as equal partners of the architects. It also applies to the creative initiatives of the working people in creating, through their wealth of ideas and energy, opportunities in new residential areas for a cultured socialist community life and thus, for the greatly needed social communication. From a cultural development of the environment and housing, much as from the growing individual cultural needs that ask to be satisfied on one's own, within the family or with friends and acquaintances, there arise new challenges and demands on which, as in urbanization and architecture, the creation of art also must focus in what it has to offer and in its facilities, as must commerce and gastronomy. Under the aspect of this interconnection between cultural policy and patriotism, a consistent and regular control should be exercised by the local councils and the managers of enterprises, combines and the VVB (associations of state enterprises) by way of implementing the cultural tasks of the "law on the local people's representations and their organs" and the "decree by the Council of Ministers on the tasks, rights and duties of the state-owned enterprises, combines and the VVB."

The combination of socialist patriotism with cultural policy is conspicuously reflected in the task to enhance the role of our capital Berlin as the center of socialist culture and art of the whole country and as a place where many nationally and internationally renowned artists and creators of culture can work. That calls for the strength, initiative and passion of all creators of culture all over the republic. Through a systematic international exchange of artistic achievements, mainly with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the cultural life of the capital must be so enriched that it will more fully still live up to the demands made of a metropolis.

Our cultural policy still has many problems to solve that come from the changes in the social conditions, in the rural working and living conditions. New cultural demands and needs, traditions and habits are emerging in the village which call for new forms and qualities in the cultural life of the cooperative farmers and rural workers. Every community association should seek to set up a cultural center. It is worth emulating what has been found successful in many places already where agricultural producer cooperatives, cooperative crop production departments and other agricultural enterprises, and community associations, have joint their efforts in setting up cultural centers which take care of the demands and growing needs.

The effect which socialist culture and cultural policy can have on the emergence of the socialist way of life, on the patriotic and internationalist thinking and conduct by the workers class and all working people largely depends on how we implement the Ninth Congress task of "providing a wider field of application for all of men's inclinations and interests, at greater breadth and higher quality. The point is to develop the diverse talents and abilities and to form a creative attitude toward life."² The observation made by Erich Honecker, that the way of intensification was a factor of our overall social advance and was closely connected with personal attitudes, communist morality, and the creative capacities of the individual, indicates that we must ponder more deeply still the connection between socialist cultural development and the new, qualitatively decisive factors of economic growth and must raise the cultural contribution to it. Under these aspects it cannot be immaterial to society how individuals or collectives spend their leisure, and how each can develop, and does actually develop, his personal creative inclinations. It follows from this that it is a political task of the first rank everywhere to create as best we can the adequate premises and preconditions -- intellectually as well as materially -- so that leisure time can do more fully justice to these growing requirements and demands which every person also has to place on himself. That sets new criteria for what is made available in culture, for help in working out and fulfilling the work collectives' culture and education plans, and for the work of the clubs and houses of culture, the youth clubs and all cultural facilities. The Party Congress called for better quality in this kind of work and for better using available opportunities and systematically establishing new ones. An especially important principle of our cultural policy is to promote everywhere the cultural interests of youth that suit the socialist way of life and world-outlook, and to create the proper conditions for it. "This must not be ignored by anyone anywhere," Kurt Hager said at the FDJ culture conference.³

That also includes our care and initiative for local traditions -- Oder Festival, Werra Festival, Weimar Youth Days and so forth -- so that they will lose nothing in their social effectiveness and keep their connection with our present alive, and the new traditions growing out of socialist life today will sprout and blossom.

Special socialist culture activities focus on internationalist culture and education, mainly for youth. And so the rich relationships with the culture of the Soviet peoples and the other fraternal peoples are tapping inexhaustible sources for an intellectually stimulating and diversified cultural life and help foster communist modes of conduct. Yet in the light of the new Ninth Party Congress demands and requirements, there are still needed further qualitative changes for giving more substance to the internationalist content of our cultural life; we do need new deliberations and initiatives.

We have reached close contacts and a creative relationship with Soviet culture, and without that the achievements of our own cultural life would be inconceivable. But anyone who follows the multinational cultural life of the USSR with attention, who has seen ensembles or read literature from the various union republics,

or as a tourist or delegate of his enterprise has visited a union republic or another, or even worked there for a longer period of time, will agree to our saying that much still has to be done to render truly comprehensive our relations with the whole multinational culture of the USSR. Only then, however, we think, will it be possible truly to understand its people and the historical magnitude of the gigantic work of construction by socialism on this one-sixth of the earth in its world-changing importance. Also of the cultures of the fraternal peoples in the MPR, in Cuba or Vietnam we know and understand all too little up to now.

The approaching 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution offers another great possibility for further deepening our relationship with Soviet culture in its multinational variety. At their Ulan Bator conference in September 1976, the socialist countries' ministers of culture proposed solemnly to celebrate this important anniversary, as a festival for all peoples of the socialist community, by sponsoring joint cultural events.

In view of the extraordinary increase in personal encounters of people in our socialist nations, extensive knowledge of, and deep insights into, the culture and history of the fraternal peoples are gaining increasing importance as personality and consciousness-forming values benefiting the internationalist content of the entire personal life of each citizen in our country. It is entirely along those lines that the by now already traditional forms of cultural collaboration in the border districts of the GDR, Poland and the CSSR are being developed further. Emphasis is given here to improving the quality of the work of joint ensembles, choruses and cultural teams as well as joint people's festivals, press festivals, enterprise festivals, music fairs and so forth. That in order to mold a truly internationalist cultural world-view many reserves still have to be tapped in all cultural areas is shown by examples such as the lecture series "Learning from Friends" which the central house for cultural work is organizing by using Soviet and other guest lecturers, the recent opening of the new international Georg Weerth Library in Karl-Marx-Stadt, which has foreign language books, periodicals and records, and where records and tapes, with texts and illustrations going with them, facilitate studies in 32 languages, or the initiative of the city and district library in Neubrandenburg with its lecture series "Rendez-vous with the Future -- Thousand Times the Soviet Union."

We must always be aware that the formation and enrichment of the internationalist features of the socialist way of life goes together with the creative unfolding of all progressive national traditions and the gradual surmounting of traditions that are alien to it and most of the time, incredibly tenacious. That is another reason why we attribute an increasing importance to the internationalist factors in GDR culture, since our experiences have shown that the content and form of national culture become richer, more varied and more instructive through the international features and that the socialist substance of national culture is deepened thereby.

Aiming at the Flourishing of Socialist-Realist Artistic Activities

The works of art, in inducing people to engage in personal and public, individual and social stock-taking, and in urging them to debate our way to live and work, what we love and what we hate, how man exercises truly humane conduct, what a meaningful life consists of and where one can find happiness and one's fulfillment, are performing their contribution to socialist personality formation and the socialist national culture, to its patriotic and internationalist spirit and character. Our party therefore supports all efforts that are aiming at the flourishing of socialist-realist art. "Through its artistic strength, its party-mindedness and solidarity with the people, and through its width and variety, socialist-realist art activity can profoundly affect the life of the people and form socialist convictions, attitudes and relations to life, and a sense for the beauty and ideals of the workers class."⁴

Writers and artists are active participants in shaping our socialist society. Many are constantly on a journey of discovery into our reality and are creatively seeking new and strong forms of expression, so as to be able to lend convincing artistic shape to their endeavors to strengthen the socialist fatherland, consolidate socialism and work for peace and humanism. A generation of artists is at work among us with full awareness that it -- to quote Bertolt Brecht -- would not have turned out the artists they became without there being the GDR as the basis for their activities.

The cultural policy by the party and government supports the fortunately greater creative search of recent years that seeks to expand the possibilities for realistic expression through artistic and literary forms. It promotes the width and variety of genres, themes and signatures and every search and mold borne by the indispensable party-mindedness and solidarity with the people that socialist art activities must show in striving for artistic truthfulness and conviction. This creative development is a uniform cultural process. And as such it must be judged and fostered. It tolerates neither onesidedness nor tags and labels. What we need is a dialectical, historic-concrete view, a genuine debate. No justice is done, we think, to this process by, for example, placing in opposition an "actual," form-giving, poetic or romantic with a "non-actual" or "descriptive" literature and art. Art in socialist society has to relate itself to reality and has to have imagination, it needs the direct presentation of everyday life subjects as well as a loftier, symbolic mode of presentation. That also is the reason why we think any version unsuitable that regards the more symbolic presentation as the only truly artistic mode of presentation and, consequently, comes down to derogating any artistic efforts which, through directly facing the problems and manifestations of our present reality, are indispensable for more deeply embedding the effect and function of art and literature in our socialist society.

More and more, books, plays, visual arts and music, documentaries, features and television films are forming the image of socialist man and are making accessible the morality and ethics of our society as an expression and element of real humanism. Above all, many artists are seeking to present impressively

the essence and importance of the workers class as the leading class in our society in all its abundant relevance. The increasing agreement between personal and social interests, ripening into a decisive art expression in our socialist society and saying something essential about the character of socialist patriotism, in no way means of course that conflict and contradiction disappear from literature and art. In presenting the profound change processes, socialist literature and art are intent, and must be intent, on the strengthening of socialism -- not any kind of fictitious, but real socialism. In commenting on the great responsibility artistic activities have for the prosperity of our society, the Party Congress directed the attention again, and more strongly, on that our art focuses on socialism in our country, affects it and works for it and is borne by it. That is why we have to pay attention to new works that are characteristic of our development and in which one finds people with their destinies, ideas, hopes and sentiments that reveal essentials of our country and our epoch -- in large works as in small ones, in chronicles as in most intimate personal accounts, and through the most diverse artistic signatures. How people have come to live the way they do today and how they shape their lives so that they do justice to the meaning of socialism is what one wants to know. More than ever today we need the kind of works of art which focus on man, on man's life in all its wealth, on social man with his perspective, and which help, through their choice of subject, cogency, formative intent and skill, in forming the socialist way of life, and which assist in overcoming all manifestations of petty bourgeois attitude, foster socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and present real socialism as it really is. The party devotes its attention and solicitude principally to the "deepening of the socialist content of ideas."⁵ That kind of approach implies those combative positions of which the Party Congress spoke as a fundamental condition in the confrontation with any kind of anticommunism and nationalism as well as with the residues and influences of a mode of life that is alien to socialism: "Our art has matured in the struggle against any possible varieties of imperialist ideology. Against all attacks, it testified to, and reinforced, the historical and humanistic superiority of socialism. We are convinced our artists and authors will lead this combative tradition onto new heights."⁶

The effectiveness of such art will be all the greater, the better we learn to develop the contest of ideas and the debate about art as a public stock-taking on ideological and ethical questions in contemporary social and personal life. All of us, the state and social forces, by no means only the artists, are responsible for making the treasures of art available truly effective in public. "A work of talent in literature or art is a national common property."⁷ It belongs to the people. The prerequisites for it exist for the first time now, in socialism. To make use of it on behalf of men is a great task and obligation to be shouldered by all of society and the institutions it has created for it.

Whether we look back at our historic road taken by the community of socialist peoples and states since the destruction of Hitler-fascism, reviewing the achievements of our art as concomitant or pioneering ones, whether we analyze the international art exhibit, "Thirty Victorious Years," or plays and films,

books and works of music in the contemporary artistic activities of the socialist countries or make clear to ourselves the possibilities and perspectives of the arts under real socialism today -- we realize that the socialist literature and art in our countries is the centerpiece of an emerging socialist world art.

It is one of our most important experiences of recent years that today less than ever before neither the achievements and developmental tendencies of the socialist national culture of our own country nor those of international socialist culture can be properly assessed, received and continued without concrete and thorough knowledge and without understanding the interrelationships in which each socialist national literature and art brings out what is unmistakably its own, its particular characteristic and, simultaneously, contains what is common to, characteristic of them all. This insight must be brought to effect wherever possible. In artistically coping with the formative social effect and the effects on changing the people by means of socialist economic integration, which happens still much too sporadically and, it seems to us, is not yet up to par today and good enough, too often merely declarative and without emotion and individuality. Or in the creative debates sparked by such Soviet movies as "The Hottest Month" or plays like "Protocol of a Meeting," among us and in the USSR and in other socialist countries, when it is a matter of discussing the thoughts and actions of the workers as members of the ruling class. Or in the efforts by artists, scientists and publishers toward more intensively processing and exploiting the legacy of the socialist and anti-fascist literature in all our fraternal socialist countries. And that also is the reason why we regard as one of the most important tasks in cultural policy the suggesting and promoting of new works presenting the complicated problems and human conflicts for more than 3 decades up to our socialist present and dealing with the conflicting tests people had to meet in our states and nations throughout the world revolutionary struggles of today and on behalf of their common communist future. It must become a still much broader overall social concern to encourage all the prerequisites for the emergence of interesting works imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity, works testifying to the cooperation among socialist nations, to socialist human relations across national borders, which are the first borders that do not separate but conjoin.

Greater importance, on behalf of the future of our art, still has to be attached to the fact that under the conditions in which processes become more and more international and the possibilities for information change and expand rapidly, social as well as individual confrontation with the experiences, and in the particulars in presentation and form, of art in other national cultures also contributes more and more to enriching one's own national art communication. The example of the now almost 60-year old multinational art development in the USSR shows how, by the unification and interchange of European and Asian culture and art experiences, reciprocal enrichment and fertilization produce a new quality.⁸ One would like to draw what, it appears to me, is an important conclusion for practical cultural policy: Internationalism must be understood not only as a political demand placed on socialist art but be understood and experienced as a characteristic feature and fundamental developmental condition. In this sense we think it necessary to design more effective measures and

assignments that would make our artists concretely experience socialist internationalism under the conditions of our ever closer cooperation in the construction of the developed socialist society and the worldwide confrontation with imperialism, as a solidarity in action. The Ulan Bator conference of the ministers of culture agreed on expanding the possibilities for it in all the arts.

New Intellectual Demands in Cultural Relations

We have entered a qualitatively new phase in the cultural relations among the socialist countries which is more and more determined by their cooperation and by what they have in common. The basic forms of exchange in literature, films, television broadcasts, works of art, ensembles and soloists in theater and music and so forth will of course continue in the future; there will even be more of that. It would certainly be a mistake to ignore the differences in the various socialist countries; a precise analysis of these differences is in fact necessary in order to be able to formulate the rapprochement strategy more accurately. At the same time, contemporary conditions require us to analyze more intensively the qualitatively new common features and also to deal with them by artistic means. In literature as well as in other fields of art we find a number of common features, in structure, the use of certain materials and, especially, in the interest in certain subject matters and topics. Common features result mainly from the socialist position out of which art is created, from the position of art and the artist in socialism.

Our cultural cooperation with the other socialist countries concentrates particularly on the common features in our socialist cultural development. About that, many recommendations were made also at the most recent conference of the ministers of culture of the socialist countries. By cultural exchange among the socialist countries we mean the exchange of works and ideas among friends, among the equal-minded, who are establishing the developed socialist society and have communism for their goal. Also through the help of art, its informative content and cognitive function we are performing the process of intellectual rapprochement, the exchange of creative ideas, the development of what we have in common.

Our republic -- wholly in the spirit of Helsinki -- advocates the expansion of cultural relations with the capitalist countries. Imperialist circles, however, regard the expansion of cultural contacts as one of the forms of ideological manipulation and the spreading of bourgeois schemes of thought and models of behavior in the socialist countries. Our national and internationalist task and obligation call for a determined resistance against those forces as they are seeking to use culture as a means of "cold war" and of spreading their reactionary ideology and way of life and their anticommunism, call for strengthening our struggle against the subversive influence of the bourgeois pseudo-culture. Supporting everything progressive and consolidating the international positions of progressive culture -- those are goals that conform to the interests of our people and all peoples, to the cause of peace, freedom and progress. This is a task that has to be solved in all its dialectics.

For the forms of ideological influence in the field of cultural relations and cultural contacts between socialist and imperialist states often are of an indirect, nonfrontal character. Our adversary takes that into account in seeking to turn into a law the thought of the alleged "independence" arts has of politics, so as to use it for subversive means, for a veritable hunt for talent by private corporations and impresarios. Here, political targets and pure business and exploitation practices combine, as it were, and they require of us a high degree of systematic and coordinated cultural initiatives on the one hand and a great degree of flexibility, on the other.

The Source and the Field of Tradition

Our relation to our cultural legacy has expanded and deepened since the Eighth Party Congress, has become more differentiated and more substantial. Its role and function in the formation of the socialist way of life have been established more precisely in theory and significantly raised in practical cultural affairs. Our cultural legacy is being understood ever more broadly and deeply, in its vital relevance to life today, as an important and effective source for the socialist national consciousness and patriotism in our socialist fatherland.

In order to be able to put into effect and use still more deliberately and extensively this function and these possibilities in the legacy of our cultural life, it would, among other things, be useful to elaborate through proven cooperation, centrally as well as locally, detailed concepts and the next steps for preserving and appropriating our legacy in clearly defined areas, for instance in museum management, in popular art and in monument maintenance as much as for certain historical epochs and their documents or the maintenance and further development of typical local traditions in ordinary cultural life. It is thus a deeply patriotic concern to make the working people feel their very own cause in the preservation and common use of all monuments and works of culture -- a popular asset that can hardly be overrated in its value and in the effect it has on developing national consciousness. We therefore also see in the memorial protection law that was ratified in 1975 a patriotic document and program. In all towns and communities, enterprises and schools we ought to care still more vigorously, with still more commitment, about the tracing and protection of documents, memorials and monuments, about discovering and further developing traditions, mores and customs that testify to the creative forces of the people and recall its heroic struggles, especially the struggles of the workers class under the leadership of its revolutionary party. Goethe's "Acquire if you would possess it" must be a reminder and summons for the present generation, all the more so since in our socialist German state it can for the first time become the people's cause. The more deeply and consciously the individual is rooted in his homeland, history and culture, the stronger will be his love and his active dedication to his fatherland.

New thoughts, new dimensions are required also for this field of our cultural activities. The party program assigns the task to make the socialist national culture of the GDR "take root still more deeply in the international cultural heritage. Constantly new impulses, especially, have to be gained from the

historical and contemporary cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. The humanistic and democratic cultural achievements from all over the world are of great importance to the all round education of the working people. The rich treasures of world culture preserved in the GDR are a great potential for raising the wealth and inner variety of socialist culture."⁹

We are encouraging -- especially in the young generation -- the awareness and understanding of historical development, from which is being revealed ever more clearly that the humanistic and progressive, and especially the revolutionary and realistic cultural and artistic traditions of the peoples in the countries of the socialist community can and must be thought of as a conjoining tradition and common achievement. Here we find the historical sources for the formation of our common features today. We can and must regard the legacy of the international revolutionary workers movement, of socialist and antifascist literature and art, as an inheritance we have in common, as important elements in our socialist culture, as the most important field of tradition for today's intellectual and cultural rapprochement among the peoples of the socialist community.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. J. Barabasch, "Socialist Literature: The General and the Particular," KUNST UND LITERATUR, No 4, 1976, pp 396 ff.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, p 103.
3. Kurt Hager, "Our Party Relies With Confidence on its Fighting Reserve," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 July 1975.
4. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, pp 51-52.
5. Ibid., p 52.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 105.
7. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1976, p 99.
8. Cf. "Einfuehrung in den sozialistischen Realismus" (Introduction to Socialist Realism), Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1975, pp 248-249.
9. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., pp 52-53.

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 11 Mar 77
"For Documentation" addendum

The Strange Advocates of Human Rights

[Summary of article by Frank Joachim Herrmann, staff member, SED Central Committee; pp 407-411]

[Text] The declarations of love made by imperialist politicians to the human rights have turned out to be nothing but scheming hypocrisy. This is being shown by means of many facts, and it is also shown why under capitalist rule human rights are being noisily proclaimed, to be sure, but not brought to realization for the working people. In the socialist countries, where exploitation is abolished and the workers class is in power, the human rights are guaranteed, and all prerequisites exist for making full use of them socially and personally.

Lenin's April Theses and Some Basic Questions of Revolutionary Strategy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harald Neubert, director, Institute for International Workers Movement, SED Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences; pp 419-462]

[Text] After the triumph of the bourgeois-democratic February Revolution, Lenin, on the basis of the combat experiences until then and their scientific analysis, furnished the concrete orientation for continuing the revolutionary process up to the socialist revolution. The article, partly through comparison with later fighting experiences, including those of the present, deals in particular with basic universal questions such as the phases of the revolution, the forms of struggle, the hegemony of the proletariat and the decisive importance of the question of power.

Economic and Social Effectiveness of Scientific-Technical Progress to Be Intensified

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herbert Kusicka, head of research unit at Ministry for Science and Technology, chairman of Council for Economic Problems of Scientific-Technical Progress; pp 432-440]

[Text] The acceleration of scientific-technical progress and pushing ahead toward international peak performance in crucial products and technologies presuppose a full comprehension of its key function for our further improvements in performance and for our social progress and makes new demands on its management: clear economic targets, management of interconnected scientific-technical processes, a high scientific-technical level and great creative research achievements.

Mass Initiative to Be Directed Purposefully

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lothar Hummel and Dr Willi Land, department head and science secretary, respectively, at SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 451-457]

[Text] How and in what forms do new qualities of mass initiative develop as characteristic features in the shaping of developed socialism? From their analysis, greater demands are discussed for further developing mass initiative, through systematic, purposeful political-ideological work, precise fixed-time targets, the creative application of Soviet experiences, and the analysis of the results of socialist competition. Emphasis is given to the role of the work collectives and the demands on management activity resulting therefrom.

Laos--In the Second Year of the Future

[Summary of article by Dr Kurt Schumann, sector chief in GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; pp 468-476]

[Text] The People's Democratic Republic of Laos stands at the beginning of the complicated path from precapitalist to socialist conditions while bypassing capitalism. The country has many natural resources, but its productive forces are still on a low level. Under the leadership by the Laotian Revolutionary People's Party, the difficulties are being tackled systematically. Simultaneously the wounds of war are being healed and the foundations are being laid for socialist development. The experiences gathered in the area, free by now for already 2 years, and the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are of great importance in this.

Effective Disarmament Measures--A Must for Our Times

[Summary of article by Klaus-Dieter Ernst, sector chief in GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; pp 477-486]

[Text] Proceeding from the inseparable connection between socialism and peace, the author shows that effective disarmament steps are absolutely necessary and, in view of the present power ratio, possible too. He takes issue with the big lie by the anti-detente forces about the "threat from the East," presents the realistic disarmament program of the socialist states and deals with some of the important initiatives for preventing nuclear war as well as for conventional disarmament, especially, for example, the state of the Vienna negotiations and arguments pertaining to them.

The Essence of Capitalism Has Not Changed

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, Institute for International Politics and Economics; chairman, Scientific Council for Research on Imperialism; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 487-491]

[Text] This contribution introduces a new rubric on the subject "ordinary capitalism." Proceeding from the revelation of the true intentions in imperialist attempts at denying the capitalist essence of contemporary bourgeois society and to provide a class-neutral, human appearance for it, it is being shown by means of fundamental characteristics in control of all the essentials -- the property and exploiter relations, the class antagonism, the crisis condition and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie -- that the characteristic features this system has, as disclosed by Marx, Engels and Lenin, still are what they used to be, and that we are dealing with ordinary capitalism.

Mass Unemployment--A Permanent Side Effect of Capitalism

[Summary of article by Dr Joachim Nitsche, researcher, Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 492-498]

[Text] Proceeding from the Marxist analysis of the industrial reserve army as the product and lever of capitalist accumulation, the long-term factors are being examined -- while bourgeois views are being contested -- which are exacerbating the problem of mass unemployment under capitalism. That includes the change in economic structure, proceeding anarchically and subordinated to the profit drive, the greater rationalization and internationalization of the capitalist exploitation process. The communists are pointing to the realistic way in the struggle against the social consequences and for insuring social security.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

CDU LEADER STRESSES RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIALIST SOCIETY

East Berlin UNION TEILT MIT in German Apr 77 signed to press 14 Mar 77 p 7

[Article by Ulrich Fahl, member of CDU Presidium and secretary of Main Executive Committee: "Continuity of Political-Ideological Work"]

[Text] In the speech of party chairman Gerald Goetting, the recruitment of all members for still more conscientious commitment to the further construction of a developed socialist society was called the main task in our political work in preparation for our 14th party congress. This includes the task of accepting our social coresponsibility in the regions at a still higher level. By involving all members in our political work we create significant preconditions for this.

Every committee is well advised to make the best possible use of the delegates' conferences for convincing political work with all members to consolidate their socialist state conscience, to further promote their development into socialist personalities and to undertake new initiatives for the all-round strengthening of our socialist state.

To involve all members in our political work requires firstly constant persuasive political conversation with all supporters of the union and strengthening them in their awareness that the future belongs to our socialist development and its communist perspectives. To continually make them conscious of the identity of real socialism with peace, democracy and freedom, social security and safety, and equip them to deal with the most diverse varieties of imperialist ideology and always to take the side of socialism, is a prime concern of our political-ideological work at the core of all leadership activity.

Involving all members in our political work requires, secondly, that the necessary importance be attached to the monthly membership meetings of the local groups as the most important form of political-ideological work. To a significant degree, they determine the state of consciousness and activity of each and every union member and hence the contribution of each and every local group to the social development of the region.

Our membership meetings will live up to the increased demands if we succeed in developing them into genuine forums of exchange of political opinion, if we make political contexts clear to every union member and answer his questions convincingly; if we counsel and establish jointly which new activities must result from the decisions of the Main Committee and must be creatively applied in solving regional tasks. If we succeed in shaping them at one and the same time informatively and interestingly and in stronger measure discussing and adopting proposals of members for the improvement of party work, participation in our membership meetings will become a true need for our members, it will be indispensable to them as a source of new instigations for their professional and social activity.

Involving all members in our political work requires, thirdly, that all members be oriented on the main points of the local economic plan and to get them to contribute strongly to their fulfillment through new initiatives in socialist competition in enterprises, cities and communities.

How great a store of ideas and power of action is evoked by this naturally depends upon convincing political conversation with every member. To the extent that we induce the conviction that Christian striving after peace and humanity today finds its best fulfillment in participating in the strengthening of our socialist state, we will increase readiness to accept responsibility for the whole. To the extent that we further deepen the perception that economic and social policy constitute an indivisible unity, that performance level and standard of living are in reciprocal relationship, increased political consciousness will be linked with high personal participation and be reflected in the program of the local group.

Involving all members in our political work requires, fourthly, the creation in all local groups of the necessary political-ideological, organizational and cadre-political preconditions for corresponding achievement.

Political success is ensured where such a statement of goals is understood not formally or solely organizationally, but as an eminently political task. It is therefore a matter of yet further developing an inner party life characterized by good work in persuasion and education work. It is therefore a matter of strengthening our effectiveness in local people's representations, in the committees of the National Front and other social areas and living up more highly to our social coresponsibility.

This is an important criterion for us in the concrete observation of our responsibility as alliance-partners of the working class. We therefore see the significance of making all members aware that responsible cooperation with the party of the working class today calls above all for a yet more conscious recognition of the dialectical unity of its growing leadership role and intensifying alliance policy and the conscious observation of our growing coresponsibility as partners in the alliance. Precisely from a correct understanding of this dialectic there comes as a logical consequence not the limitation of our chances of effectiveness, but our growing coresponsibility in the shaping of socialist society. Broader opportunities than ever existed before are opening up for Christian citizens to practice their service to their neighbor as service to the whole of society and thus to correspond effectively to the social demands of Christian ethics.

SED'S KONRAD NAUMANN INTERVIEWED ON IRAQI VISIT

East Berlin HORIZONT in German issue No 23, 1977 p 4 AU

[HORIZONT interview with Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, and head of a SED Central Committee delegation on the delegation's recent visit to Iraq]

[Text] Question: On the invitation of the Iraqi Communist Party [ICP] Central Committee, you visited the Republic of Iraq 10-17 May 1977. What was the main substance of your talks with the ICP?

Answer: The main goal of our visit was to further strengthen the close relations with the fraternal Iraqi party that had already existed for a long time, and to acquaint ourselves on the spot with the struggle and work of the Iraqi Communists.

We assess the course and the results of the talk very positively. It could not be otherwise because both parties proceed in their policy firmly and unswervingly from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The ICP attributed great significance to the talks. This is evident from the fact that the delegation of the fraternal party was headed by Aziz Muhammad, first secretary of the ICP Central Committee.

In the joint press statement published after the conclusion of the talks it is stated that there was agreement of views in the assessment and evaluation of all important international questions. Both sides reaffirmed their intention to continue also in the future to do everything to continue also in the future to do everything to contribute to strengthening the unity of the communist world movement and to deepening the alliance between the national liberation forces and the socialist countries.

Aziz Muhammad stressed that unity of all progressive forces in the Arab countries is at present of special importance [so as] to be able to repel the counteroffensive of imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction against the forces of social progress in the Middle East. A main responsibility in forging this unity rests in this connection on the communist parties of the Arab countries.

The SED and the ICP affirmed also their firm links with the Soviet Union and the party of Lenin. They appreciated the importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution as the most important event of our century and informed each other of measures which they will implement this year on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

In the joint press statement both parties condemn all forms of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism and termed the attitude toward the Soviet Union as the decisive criterion for the progressive character of every party and every national movement. This statement is of principled importance in view of the anti-Soviet slander campaign in various Arab countries.

Extensive scope was given in the talks to mutual information and the exchange of views on the development in both countries. Aziz Muhammad explained extensively the policy of the ICP on implementing the decisions of the third party congress of May 1976 which for the first time in the history of the party had been held under conditions of legality. He outlined the successes attained by Iraq since the assumption of power by the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party [ASBP] in 1968. This includes particularly the conclusion of a treaty on friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the nationalization of the imperialist oil monopolies and the establishment of a national oil industry, a new agrarian reform law and a new labor law. Today the state sector plays a decisive role in industry and foreign trade, and the formation of agricultural cooperatives is progressing. Great efforts are being made to overcome illiteracy in Iraq and to develop a modern health system. Important measures have been initiated to implement the manifesto of 11 March 1970 on granting autonomy to Kurdish areas. Today there exists an autonomous Kurdish region with the capital Erbil and its own executive and legislative organs. In this region the Kurdish language is recognized as an official language on an equal status with Arabic. The two most important Kurdish parties, the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Kurdish Revolutionary Party, are represented in the secretariat of the Progressive Patriotic National Front.

Aziz Muhammad lists among the most important achievements of truly historic significance the creation of the Progressive Patriotic National Front. It is for the ICP the foundation for the further progressive development of Iraq, and its continuous consolidation is one of the decisive tasks posed by the third party congress to the Iraqi Communists.

Question: Why is the ICP putting the question of establishing a national front and its constant strengthening so much into the foreground of its struggle?

Answer: The ICP, which in March this year celebrated the 43d anniversary of its founding, can look back upon long traditions in the struggle for the establishment of a national front in Iraq. It made great sacrifices in the struggle against British imperialism and the corrupt feudal regime

in Iraq, and even at that time utilized all its forces for creating a broad front of all democratic, national forces in the country. On 14 July 1958 this front, based on the people's masses, succeeded in overthrowing the pro-imperialist monarchy and in setting up the republic.

In the subsequent period, however, the former colonial masters and their accomplices within the country succeeded in playing the progressive forces against one another and in causing the national front to break apart. The ICP was once more forced into the deepest underground. Thousands of its comrades, including the then secretary general Salam Adil [name as published], were murdered; others were imprisoned and tortured. But the party formed itself anew in the underground and drew the appropriate lessons from the developments after the country won its political independence.

When the ASBP took over power on 17 November 1968 and offered to the other national parties, including the ICP, to establish a uniform national front, the communists immediately agreed. There followed a long, partly rather involved dialog between the ASBP and the ICP in which it was necessary to eliminate reservations on both sides, to come to terms on a joint program taking into consideration the interests and aims of the Iraqi working people, for the work in the national front. In 1973 a point was reached where Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, Iraqi president and secretary general of the ASBP, and Aziz Muhammad, first secretary of the ICP Central Committee, were able to sign the charter of the Progressive Patriotic National Front.

Since that time the alliance between the ASBP and the ICP has been the foundation of the successful development of the National Front in Iraq. The ICP has two ministers in the Cabinet. It is represented on numerous commissions and committees which have to work out plans and projects for Iraq's further development, and it exerts influence on the socioeconomic and political changes in the country through the committees of the Progressive Patriotic National Front. In this process the trustful cooperation between Ba'thists and Communists at the base is strengthening, and both parties are more and more clearly realizing that the goals they have in common are predominant and that the enemy must not be allowed to take advantage of secondary contradictions between the two parties to split and weaken the progressive forces again.

In our talks Azai Muhammad reaffirmed again and again that the ICP despite all temporary difficulties will unwaveringly continue this course. He described the question of the National Front as the key question of the decisions of the Third ICP Congress and as a fundamental problem of further democratic development in the Republic of Iraq. In this respect the most profoundly patriotic attitude of the Iraqi Communists made a deep impression on the SED delegation.

Question: What prospects result from your visit for further development of party relations?

Answer: The SED has for a long time maintained good relations with the ICP. Our party was the first party to conclude with the ICP an agreement on concrete measures of cooperation. This agreement was renewed in 1976. It contains among other things exact stipulations for continuing the exchange of opinions and experience, for support in cadre training and for cooperation of the two fraternal parties' press organs. During our stay in Bagdad we discussed concrete steps for further deepening cooperation between the two parties on the basis of the concluded agreements.

In addition there exists a close cooperation between the SED and the ASBP. During its visit the delegation of the SED Central Committee had an opportunity for an extensive exchange of opinions with Dr Zeid Heidar, member of the ASBP national leadership, and with Naim Haddad, secretary general of the Progressive Patriotic National Front and member of the ASBP regional leadership. These conversations took place in a friendly atmosphere and showed that both parties hold agreeing views in evaluating important international problems. From these talks our delegation brought home the conviction that the ASBP is ready to advance the progressive development in Iraq in the direction of socialism. Dr Zeid Heidar stressed that Iraq is resolved to further develop and expand relations with the socialist countries on the party and state level.

On this basis the SED is striving to implement in all points the agreement with the ASBP signed in February 1977 in Berlin and to intensify the exchange of opinions and political consultations with the ASBP.

Question: Personally, what impressed you most in Iraq?

Answer: I was most impressed by the cadres of our fraternal party and by the country's intense development, which could be felt everywhere. A great deal is being built in Iraq. This is being done in a beautiful style, and much is being done to boost agricultural yields through irrigation and the employment of modern technical equipment. Firm determination was expressed in all talks with the ASBP as well as with representatives of the Iraqi Communists to overcome as rapidly as possible the economic backwardness of Iraq and its dependence on imperialism.

Our delegation was deeply impressed by the standing that the CPSU, the SED and its general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, Comrade Erich Honecker, as well as all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries are enjoying in the Republic of Iraq.

Also impressive was the unusually cordial Iraqi hospitality. Whether in Bagdad, Hilla or Hindiya, we were received with equal cordiality everywhere, were taken care of with the same generosity and dedication. Utilizing this opportunity I would like once more to express my cordial gratitude for this to all ICP comrades on behalf of the delegation of the SED Central Committee.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SED DELEGATION BEGINS TALKS WITH NORWEGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jun 77 p 2 AU

[ADN dispatch from Oslo: "Consultations Between SED and Norwegian Communist Party [NKP] in Oslo: Werner Jarowinsky Conveyed Fraternal Greetings of Erich Honecker"]

[Text] Official consultations between a delegation of the SED Central Committee and the secretariat of the NKP began Monday in Oslo in a cordial and trustful atmosphere. The SED delegation is led by Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. Other members are Heinz Ziegner, Central Committee member and first secretary of the SED Schwerin Bezirk leadership, and Alfred Marter, sector head in the SED Central Committee.

Werner Jarowinsky conveyed to the fraternal Norwegian party the fraternal greetings of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. They were cordially reciprocated by Martin Gunnar Knudsen, chairman of the NKP, who stressed the traditionally close relations between the two parties. The delegation briefed the Norwegian comrades on the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and pointed out the successes thus far achieved in implementing the sociopolitical program.

Broaching international problems, the representatives of both parties appreciated the peace offensive of the socialist community of states and pointed out the need for effective disarmament measures. In this context they reaffirmed their determination in the spirit of the Berlin Conference to intensify their efforts, jointly with all democratic forces, for the continuation and deepening of the detente process. It is particularly important, it was emphasized, to rebuff those forces that are trying on the eve of the Belgrade meeting to torpedo international detente and thus the final Helsinki document with anticommunist campaigns and other harassing actions.

The delegation, which upon its arrival in the morning was received by Martin Gunnar Knudsen, chairman of the NKP, other leading communist party representatives and by GDR ambassador Peter Hintzmann, will acquaint itself during its visit of several days with the struggle and experiences of the NKP. The first day of the visit was concluded with a friendly meeting with the members of the NKP Politburo.

EAST GERMANY

PLANS FOR CIVIL-DEFENSE MOBILIZATION

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 Jun 77 p 18 DW

[Text] "In the course of the summer"(a high-ranking SED functionary) the GDR military leaders plan to rehearse the case of hostilities nationwide: in a large-scale maneuver the East German civil defense is to be tested for a potential east-west conflict.

The supposed operational situation for the exercise: "Following changes in the leadership top of a socialist state" war occurs with the NATO countries. The members of the civil defense receive orders to guard the East German territory against infiltrated saboteurs, agents and armed gangs and to support the troops of the National People's Army (NVA) and the soldiers of the fraternal countries fighting in the GDR.

The civil defense, which is subordinated to council of ministers chairman Willi Stoph, has been a firm component of the East German defense concept for 10 years now. According to NATO findings it includes, apart from "operational forces" for air-raid protection and "reconnaissance forces," the roughly 400,000 men of the paramilitary "works militia of the working class" in enterprises and agencies.

The training level of the civil defenders is subject to regular review, thus the GDR students and their female coeds are called up by age groups each spring for exercises of 6 weeks' duration which are directed by NVA officers.

The 1977 maneuver for the case of hostilities has been carefully prepared for months. As early as in February many NVA reservists received written secret orders to stand by for mobilization effective 1 May.

The leading cadres of the East German industry are instructed, likewise in a secret instruction dated 1 April, to have work discontinued immediately upon a certain signal by the air-raid sirens and to turn radio and television on. Detailed orders would then be issued via radio and television.

SED functionaries make no bones about the real purpose of the summer game of the East German military men in internal party circles: Should the "progressive forces" in Yugoslavia, said a Unity Socialist, threaten to be defeated after Tito's demise as a result of imperialist support to counter-revolution, then the GDR must assist the hard-pressed comrades in Belgrade in concert with the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

FACTS, FIGURES SUPPLIED ON COLLEGES, TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 21 Apr 77 pp 5-6

[Text] Some 290,000 students of all categories are currently enrolled in GDR advanced and technical schools; almost 200,000 of these are on-campus students. Today's complex network of 53 universities and advanced schools and 233 schools of engineering and technology has been created thanks to the constant far-sighted policy of the party of the working class through great effort. It ensures the implementation of the legally based right of young people to education. The advanced and technical school system educates and trains the required number of highly qualified scientific cadres for the development of all spheres of our socialist society.

The composition of the student body corresponds to the social composition of the population of the GDR. Since the mid-1950s the proportion of children of workers and peasants has stood at between 50 and 60 percent. The legally equal position of women in the GDR is also reflected in the proportion of female students. Whereas in 1951 their percentage representation in full-time advanced school study was 23 percent of the total, it is currently in excess of 53 percent.

In recent years the GDR has undertaken great efforts in the training of the socialist intelligentsia. In our republic today, more than 1 million advanced and technical school cadres are employed. In the five-year plan period, as foreseen by the directive of the Ninth SED Congress on the development of the national economy, 252,000 advanced and technical school graduates from full-time study will take up employment in the national economy and the other branches of society. Between 13,000 and 15,000 dormitory places, 13,000 to 15,000 lecture-hall, seminar and laboratory places and between 8,000 and 9,000 student cafeteria places are to be created. For example, during 1976 19.4 percent of the total of boarding-school places planned for this 5-year period were placed in service at the advanced and technical schools of the GDR.

More than 30,000 girls and boys applied for full-time advanced school study up to the end of 1976. Almost all applicants for the 1977/78 academic year were granted permits to register in recent months. Currently however there

are some unfilled places for students, since in some fields of study there were fewer applications than available places. Thus, for these particular universities and advanced schools, admissions will be granted beyond the application deadline in such fields of study as mechanical engineering, systems technology, business economics and diplomaed instructorship of mathematics/physics or technology. Young specialized workers not holding a high-school diploma still have a chance to apply for a special course to fulfill the high-school requirements for study at an engineering college leading to an engineering diploma in the particular field of study. For workers fully qualified in their fields of work, it is still possible to register for full-time or external study in the fields of technology, agricultural sciences and economics for the 1977/78 school year.

With the conclusion of the 1976/77 school year, graduates in several major fields, e.g. mechanical engineering, agricultural engineering and electrical engineering, will leave the advanced schools, having been trained on the basis of new curricula which have been developed or freshly defined, stage by stage, since 1972. The establishment of curricula for advanced or further training in the area of technical college education, decided upon by the Eighth SED Congress to raise the level of training and improve class education was significantly carried through during 1976/77 with broad participation by instructors and students.

Presently there are confirmed curricula for 85 major study fields or advanced training fields and 57 for technical school training. They correspond significantly to the needs of the school-leaving generations of the next 10 years.

In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress on communist education, new curricula will come into force with the 1977/78 school year for Marxist-Leninist basic study at the universities and advanced schools. They were developed with the active cooperation of the instructors of Marxism-Leninism.

Among other things, the new curricula provide special seminars on individual works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, in order to lead the students directly to the original sources of our scientific world-view. The implementation of the new curricula will equip the students still better to solve the problems of our age aggressively and forcefully.

The close scientific cooperation of the universities and advanced schools of the GDR with partner institutions of the socialist countries is documented in 264 friendship accords, including 63 with the USSR, 50 with the People's Republic of Poland, 44 with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, 44 with the Hungarian People's Republic, 17 with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and 11 with the Socialist Republic of Romania. They encompass many common tasks, above all in the following major areas: exchange of results and research cooperation on the communist education of students; exchange of guest instructors; disciplinary and interdisciplinary research cooperation; the holding of joint congresses and symposia; cooperation in the development of means

of instruction and learning; exchanges for scientific practical training for students. In 1976 this exchange involved 6,500 students, who continued their training in friendly countries, while the same number of students from other socialist countries performed their practical training in the GDR.

The ever closer linking of the scientific potential of the GDR with that of the USSR and the other CEMA member states is leading to rising efficiency and division of labor in research. Thus, as many as one-fourth of all tasks in the plan for scientific and technical research at the universities and advanced schools is already being undertaken in cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. This is true of all significant fields of the economy. Thus, scientists of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical Advanced School and the Moscow Advanced School for Machine Tools and Tools developed the high-speed lathe, which is already being used by the industries of both countries.

One of the most fruitful and effective aspects of the steadily intensifying cooperation in higher education is the study of GDR citizens at Soviet universities and advanced schools. As early as directly after the conclusion of the first governmental agreement with the USSR on scientific and technical cooperation of 27 September 1951, the first GDR students were sent to the Soviet Union. Since then about 10,000 students and young scientists have received their training or continued their training at Soviet institutions and are today active in responsible functions in all fields of our socialist society. Currently more than 4,200 citizens of the GDR are receiving education or further education at more than 100 universities and advanced schools in the Soviet Union.

The principle of unity of instruction and research is consistently applied in the system of higher and technical education in the GDR. New scientific discoveries thereby have the effect of stimulating and encouraging progress in the quality and efficiency of instruction. Thus, advanced schools of the GDR bear the responsibility for three research programs and 31 major research institutes. The personnel of the universities and colleges, in close cooperation with cooperative partners in industry and agriculture, the Academy of Sciences of the GDR and other scientific institutions have achieved good results in the furtherment of scientific and technical progress in 1976, the first year of the five-year plan. As compared with 1975, in 1976 almost 600 additional research achievements in the science and technology plan were assigned for fulfillment at the advanced schools. Almost 400 research tasks were fulfilled ahead of time and the universities and advanced schools supported enterprises and establishments on our territory with more than 400 additional research achievements.

Many kinds of efforts at the advanced and technical schools call for yet stronger links to practice. This is particularly true of the achievements of the students in individual creativity. Thus they are increasingly cooperating in the fulfillment of tasks from the science and technology plans. They have a significant share in the research achievements which are

aimed at, through annual reports, professional practical training and diploma theses. Some 14 percent of student research achievements were performed in 1976 through work on youth projects, in scientific student clubs and student rationalization and construction layout offices. In 1972, following Soviet models, student rationalization and construction layout offices were set up at the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical Advanced School. Today there are 89, at 19 universities and colleges, and there are 333 collectives of a similar kind, such as programing offices, and offices for applied mathematics and test laboratories.

8739

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

DEFENSE ASSOCIATION OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jun 77 p 5 AU

[Interview with Maj Gen Lajos Kiss, secretary general of the Hungarian National Defense Association by Jozsef Fahidy: "Maj Gen Lajos Kiss, Secretary General of the Hungarian National Defense Association Has the Word: Active Patriotism"--presumably in Budapest, date unspecified]

[Text] The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association, the organization which was the legitimate predecessor of the Hungarian National Defense Association [MHSZ], held its constituent congress on 29 February 1948. Although its name has changed in accordance with its tasks, it has been constantly engaged since then in the patriotic and national defense education of the population, particularly youth, in the organization of technical sports branches and the moral-political and vocational preparation of youth for military service. The MHSZ is an organization with social bases. At its approximately 5,000 clubs, over 200,000 active club members and supporting members are engaged in accomplishing the set goals. Its work--at sports competitions and courses--involves contact with more than a million young people and adults.

Our staff member Jozsef Fahidy requested information on MHSZ activities and the tasks facing it from Maj Gen Lajos Kiss, the association's secretary general.

[Question] Recently, the national assembly adopted a new, modern national defense bill, which affects MHSZ activities as well. What new tasks will you have to accomplish?

[Answer] The new--truly modern--national defense bill establishes long-term regulation of all important national defense issues and specifically defines the task of state and social organs. As regards our results to date, we have nothing to be ashamed of, but the new national defense bill calls for better organized, higher quality work, and more work than previously required from our association's leaders, activists and instructors and all our club members.

[Question] Defending the fatherland is the sacred duty of all citizens. How does the MHSZ prepare those young people eligible for national service for this task?

[Answer] In order to prepare for fulfilling its national defense education, the theoretical and practical part of this education takes place partially at educational institutions and partially at MHSZ general and special courses.

The heads of schools and teachers are responsible for instruction at educational institutions; nevertheless, we are obliged to help the teaching of national defense knowledge at schools. Our association's clubs provide training equipment, weapons, ammunition and properly trained experts wherever it is needed. We help teachers also by organizing methodological activities and courses for them, for example courses, including extension courses, in shooting practice.

General and specialized national defense training at our clubs is the second main direction of our work. Annually, many thousands of young people participate in the specialized courses organized by us. A great many young people attend our courses in driving, communications and electronics, radio telegraph operating, scuba diving, parachuting and piloting. Participation in these courses is voluntary, so we must win young people over to these courses, which call for more than a little physical and intellectual ability.

Many people believe that our association prepares youth only vocationally for the honorable task of defending the fatherland. This is not so. Adapted to our society's homogeneous socialist educational system, we strive to prepare young people to fulfill military service morally and politically as well.

[Question] The so-called "supplementary training" of young people demobilized from the People's Army is also an important association task. How have you been and are you accomplishing this?

[Answer] Assembling reservists who have fulfilled their military service is an important part of our activities. In our reservists' clubs we strive through various methods to insure that our citizens will always be ready and able to defend the fatherland.

Mass sports competitions enhancing physical fitness and demanding the application of military knowledge of a high standard are very popular among reservists. These include reservists' national defense competitions and reservists' shooting competitions, in which, ranging from interclub contests to national competitions, some 100,000 reservists participate each year.

We receive considerable social help from our People's Army's regular officers in our work among reservists. Our selfless helpers coach courses and organize shooting practice and competitions and insure that reservists do not lose contact with the army.

[Question] Physically fit youth is the foundation for the existence of any country. You have achieved noteworthy results also in this respect. Still, what should be done in the future? Which sports do you expect youth to participate in and what do you offer youth?

[Answer] Since its establishment, our association has been devoting great attention to the physical preparation of the population, and primarily to youth. Among other things, this purpose is served by combined national defense competitions, which have been regularly organized and staged at our clubs for years and in which over 100,000 young people participate annually. The so-called national defense cup shooting competition is another of our mass sports competitions. More and more people, both young and old, join in this competition as well. The collective participation of socialist brigades in these competitions has become a regular feature. Some 650,000 boys and girls, men and women compete in each round, which are staged on six occasions annually on the more important national and international holidays. In addition to these two competition systems, which involve large masses, we stage also mass sports competitions for young model builders, radio operators, parachutists and scuba divers.

We were very pleased with the announcement of the "For a Fit Youth" movement. Also we ourselves regard the physical training of youth as an important social task. We have decided to promote the further development of the movement with all our might: promote it, among other things, with the introduction of new forms of competitions.

[Question] Patriotic education is an important task of all organizations and movements. This applies to MHSZ also.

[Answer] This is indeed true: The patriotic and national defense--and I might add, internationalist--education of the population and youth is a duty of society as a whole. The conclusion of our party's eleventh congress that "...our patriotism is an active patriotism for the people and socialism..." has become a slogan in our association. We try to inculcate in our members and in people coming into contact with us that true patriotism can be measured today through achievements in the building and defense of socialism. We regard as our tasks propagating the fact that today, under conditions of peaceful constructive work, what is required is a patriotism of citizens that manifests itself in activist efforts, high quality productive work in building an advanced socialist society and the armed service of the socialist fatherland and the entire socialist camp--if necessary, in a self-sacrificing struggle for their defense.

Through various methods of political work, our association is striving to make youth and older people, men and women, students and working youth and the population as a whole aware of this fact. It is our plan and resolute intention to continue to intensify this work, in cooperation, of course, with state organizations and other social organs.

CSO: 2500

POLAND

WARSAW TAKES SHARPER MEASURES AGAINST DISSIDENTS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 30 Apr 77 p 7 DW

[Carl Gustaf Stroeheim, Munich dispatch]

[Text] It seems that the Polish communists have begun to take sharper measures against the inner opposition, and particularly against the Warsaw "Committee for the Defense of the Workers." Two prominent committee members, Jacek Kuron and Jan Jozef Lipski have been summoned officially and informed that they are under suspicion of maintaining "illegal contacts" with foreign organizations, and of cooperating with the U.S. radio station Radio Free Europe, and with the Polish exile paper KULTURA printed in Paris. Radio Free Europe denied in the meantime to have had or to have contacts with the Polish dissidents.

The Polish prosecutor's office also mentioned the historian Adam Michnik who belonged to the circle of political friends of Kuron and Lipski. Michnik is in West Europe now. He is supposed to return to Poland next week.

Kuron and Lipski a few days ago were held by the police for 48 hours. It was learned from the workers' committee that the two have been imprisoned in one cell with alcoholics and criminals. Later on, the two opposition people were brought to a room which was filled with human feces.

The police were taking fingerprints by force from the two, injuring Lipski's arm which had been wounded in the 1944 Warsaw revolt. Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, in Gniezno again condemned the brutality of the Polish police, stating that such methods are most alien to the Polish people.

CSO: 2300

FIRE DEMONSTRATORS RE-EMPLOYED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 May 77 p 2 DW

[Text] Warsaw, 2 May--Almost every one of the Polish workers fired because of their participation in last June's demonstrations have found a job in the meantime, with some of them, however, getting less pay. According to a recent communique of the "Committee for the Defense of the Workers," 11 URSUS workers and less than 20 Radom workers still have no jobs. They were fired after 15 June. The committee therefore states that support payments for the "victims of the post-June repressions" are nearing an end. In the future, only families with children whose income is under the minimum existence level will get payments.

According to the committee, it has collected until 22 April more than 2.8 million zlotys (more than DM300,000 according to the bank exchange rate) in the form of contributions, and paid it to families of the imprisoned and terminated. The committee also provided counsels to many of the accused.

The committee in its last communique insists that an unconditional amnesty must be declared for all who have been sentenced in connection with the 25 June demonstrations, all terminated workers must be employed again according to their qualifications, the full scope of repressions must be announced, the names of those must be announced who have maltreated the imprisoned, and they must be punished, and a parliamentary investigation must take place. When these demands have been completely fulfilled, the committee will lose its right to exist and it can discontinue its activities.

CSO: 2300

POLAND

POLISH MINISTER, WESTERN AGENCIES CITED ON KRAKOW EVENTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 18 May 77 p 13 LD

[Unattributed report: "Warsaw Press Conference: Minister Polemizes Over Events at Krakow"]

[Text] Warsaw--The Polish Government's official position on the death of the student Stanislaw Pyjas, whose body was found Saturday, 7 May, on the balcony of a Krakow house, and on the student demonstration which took place also in Krakow Sunday evening, has been announced by Minister [Wlodzimierz] Janiurek at a press conference.

The official government spokesman declared that the young man died following a fall from the stairs, and that the "unfortunate incident"--as he called it--was caused by a serious state of drunkenness. A blood test, Janiurek added, did in fact reveal a high alcohol level.

The government spokesman admitted that the student was a sympathizer of the "Workers Defense Committee," which was formed in Poland following last June's events, and he did not deny the report carried a few days ago by western press agencies that Pyjas had recently been involved in collecting signatures to a petition to the Polish Parliament calling for an inquiry into police behavior toward people who were detained following the June strikes.

With regard to the demonstration held in Krakow Sunday evening, and which, according to many eyewitnesses, was attended by 5,000 young people (in the morning there was a Mass in memory of the dead student) Janiurek asserted that certain "antisocial elements made a pretext of this tragic event to organize a provocation."

Janiurek ended by saying that police investigations are still continuing and that, among other things, a resident in the house where the body was found told the authorities that, at about 0600 on 7 May, he was wakened by "a loud noise" (of a fall) coming from the stairs.

Meanwhile, according to western press agencies (ANSA, AP, REUTER) the number of "dissidents" arrested between Saturday and Monday following the Krakow demonstration has gone up to six. They are writer Adam Michnik, philosopher Jacek Kuron, biochemist Piotr Naimski, historian Antoni Macierewicz, nuclear physicist Mirosław Cholecki--all "Workers Defense Committee" members--and a sympathizer of the committee, Wojciech Ostrowski.

They are accused of "having communicated with a person working within a foreign organization with the aim of damaging the political interests of Poland." A similar charge was laid against Kuron and Michnik last month, but the two "dissidents" were later released on bail.

CSO: 3104

POLAND

'L'UNITA' REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS ON DISSIDENTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 21 May 77 p 16 LD

[Silvio Trevisani report: "Intellectuals Appeal Against the Arrests in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw--In an atmosphere characterized by deep anxiety and serious concern, news of detentions and arrests of members and sympathizers of the "Polish Workers' Defense Committee" continues to come in. Since yesterday it has been confirmed that the detention of Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Piotr Naimski, Piotr Ostrowski, Mirosław Cholecki, Marian Pilka, and Antoni Macierewicz has been transmuted into arrest. The confirmation obviously comes from the families of the people concerned, because nothing on the subject has been published in the newspapers. On the other hand, however, no denial has been issued by the authorities. As for the historian Jan Józef Lipski, who was taken away by the police after a search of his apartment, he must await the expiration of the 48 hours during which any Polish citizen can be detained without it being necessary for the judicial authorities to intervene.

The charges against the members of the "Solidarity Committee" are of "association with other persons to act in collusion with foreign organizations hostile to the People's Republic of Poland"; the penalty laid down varies from 6 months to 5 years. Others, however--for example, the student Pilka--are accused of "supplying information of a nature to discredit Poland."

The unanimous opinion, however, is that it was the death--and the interpretations put on it--of the Krakow student, Stanisław Pyjas, which prompted the Polish Government to take tough measures against the "Solidarity Committee." As will be remembered, the student's body was found on the morning of 7 May. According to the authorities, his death was caused by a "fall from a small height" (first they had said "a fall downstairs") while in a state of drunkenness, as would be shown by the alcohol content found in his blood (2.6 milligrams per 1,000 milliliters, equivalent to half a liter of vodka).

This version has been questioned by the "Solidarity Committee" which recalled that Pyjas was one of its active collaborators and that four students--who along with him had gathered signatures for a petition to Parliament--received anonymous letters in April.

After these statements made to foreign correspondents, and following a demonstration in Krakow at a Mass for Pyjas, the arrests began; moreover, TRYBUNA LUDU, the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) organ, and ZYCIE WARSZAWY severely attacked the "Solidarity Committee," describing it as "a group of opponents of the people's power who have tried to exploit the death of the youth to disturb the atmosphere."

For the first time even the names of some members of the committee were mentioned, and the situation was compared by the papers to that of March 1968--when, at the time Gomulka was first secretary, a student demonstration took place against which the police intervened, many lecturers and students were arrested and sentenced to prison or labor camps, and others were told to leave the country.

The attitude of the Warsaw government and the consequent arrests have, however, provoked a new reaction; while religious ceremonies in memory of Pyjas have taken place in Gdansk, Lublin, and Lodz, 17 Polish intellectuals--including writers, musicians, and university professors--launched an appeal yesterday in which they ask the government authorities not to "use police repression against the members of the defense committee." We know the arrested persons--the document goes on to say--and we know that they are not criminals.

Cardinal Wyszynski has also intervened on this subject. In a sermon pronounced on the evening of the day before yesterday he condemned the repression.

Even the academic authorities have taken a few initiatives within the universities to try to respond to the students' growing nervousness: course assemblies and exchanges with the young people have been organized. For its part, the PZPR has called meetings in many factories in which the ZYCIE WARSZAWY and TRYBUNA LUDU articles will be discussed.

CSO: 3104

POLAND

WRITERS, ARTISTS CALL FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

London THE SUNDAY TIMES in English 22 May 77 p 8 LD

[Article by diplomatic editor, Nicholas Carroll: "Polish Writers Speak Out Against Political Arrests"]

[Text] A strongly worded plea to the Polish Government to free the recently arrested members of the Workers' Defence Committee has been made in an open letter signed in Warsaw last week by 17 leading Polish writers and artists.

The letter, which carries added weight because none of the signatories is a member of the committee, also condemns the use of police methods to deal with social problems. It reads:

"Despite promises of freedom, many of those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their part in the workers' protest in June 1976 are still in prison. At present there is a wave of arrests of members of the Workers' Defence Committee, which for months has provided material, legal, and medical help for the prisoners, thus creating in Poland a unique social institution that has provided support for the families of those thrown out of work or imprisoned.

"In the last few days, the following people have been arrested, and their detention in prison has been sanctioned by the public prosecutor: Miroslaw Chojecki, Jacek Kuron, Antoni Macierewicz, Adam Michnik, Piotr Naimski, and Wojciech Ostrowski. (On May 19 another committee member, Jan Jozef Lipski, was also arrested.)

"We know these people, and we can, therefore, assert that they are not criminals, but people who are disinterested and ready to sacrifice themselves to achieve social justice. The arrests are continuing. We appeal to the authorities to halt and revoke this sort of action which harms innocent people and increases social tension in Poland.

"We appeal to public opinion in Poland and abroad, to workers, intellectuals, trade unionists, journalists, to all people of goodwill irrespective of their political convictions, to express their objection to the use of police methods in social matters. We appeal to them to act in defence of the political prisoners of the Polish People's Republic, and demand their release."

The letter is signed by: Jacek Bochenski, Kazimierz Brandys, Marian Brandys, Witold Dabrowski, Andrzej Drawicz, Jerzy Ficowski, Anna Kamienska, Andrzej Kikowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Seweryn Pollack, Julian Strykowski, Wiktor Wordszyli (author), Professor Andrzej Grzegorzczak (Chair of Logic), Bogdan Kosinski (film director), Anna Trojanowska (painter), Wanda Wilkomirska (violinist), and Maria Zagorska (translator).

The latest wave of unrest and repression in Poland was triggered off a week ago by the death of a Cracow student while in the hands of the police, followed by a huge peaceful protest march by students in Cracow. The police said the student was drunk, but the students believe he was beaten up by the police or their agents.

A puzzling feature of the arrests of members of the Workers' Defence Committee is that a week ago the authorities in Warsaw allowed two television teams, one from the BBC, the other from the American NBC, to interview them. The teams were allowed to take their films and tapes through the customs without examination.

The subsequent arrests of seven members of the committee suggests that the security police may have acted on their own initiative to some extent. The action is at any rate inconsistent with the evidence that Edward Gierek, the Polish leader, favours a fairly tolerant attitude towards dissidents.

His toleration, however, has been withheld from a number of leading literary figures, whose prose and poetry has been rejected for publication supposedly because of their dissident attitude. A collection of these works is being published in London on Thursday by the periodical, INDEX ON CENSORSHIP.

CSO: 2020

POLAND

WARSAW SUPPORT FOR RADOM PRISONERS, CHURCH ROLE DESCRIBED

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 May 77 p 5 LD

[Special correspondent Demarez Warsaw dispatch: "Hunger Strike in a Church"]

[Text] Warsaw, 29 May--Eleven people, members or sympathizers of the "Workers' Defense Committee," are at present conducting a hunger strike in the chapel of St Martin's Church in Warsaw to protest against the detention in prison of five people sentenced after the events in Radom and URSUS in June 1976. They are also protesting against the arrest of certain leaders of the "Committee" following the demonstration involving several hundred students who filed along solemnly to pay tribute to the Krakow student, Stanislaw Pyjas, who died tragically on 7 May.

This initiative by the 11 hunger strikers, which is to last for a week, is a follow-up to this demonstration, which coincided with the inauguration of the Church of Nowa Huta and the Mass said last week in the church in Warsaw's "Old Town" to the memory of Pyjas.

Although officially the Polish Church did not take part in these events, no one here denies a certain involvement by ecclesiastical circles in the protest taking place at the present time.

D. Horodyski, chief editor of KULTURA, noted this on Friday in an article published by TRYBUNA LUDU. He explains that dissident circles want to involve the church, which is at present the object of strong canvassing. It is obvious to anyone who knows the role the church plays in Poland that this is a very important question. It is no less obvious that if the Polish press is writing about the 11 hunger strikers to refute their arguments, it means that all the difficulties which led to the events of June 1976 have not completely disappeared. There is still some tension in the consumer market. Meat is still too scarce in the butchers' shops, and the queues in front of the shops cause irritation to the shoppers, particularly working women.

Certainly the government has taken a series of measures to improve services and supplies to shops, but these are still a long way from meeting consumer demand.

A Polish woman told me the other day: "You know, I must really get down to work to make ends meet. I am a divorcee and, in addition to my daily work, I have to look after my home, my daughter's education and studies, and my old mother who is ill. It is a race against the clock all the time. Shopping is my worst nightmare. I waste most of my time in shops."

A considerable improvement in the choice of goods which can now be found in shops, and commendable efforts aimed at displaying them, are largely nullified by an inadequate organization of the market.

Polish Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz emphasized, during a conference of party officials and economists, that even though the community could understand that the situation with respect to supplies and selling was difficult, it could not put up with inefficiency, which no one and nothing could justify. It is this inefficiency which irritates the Polish people most. It creates discontent, and output and work quality suffer as a result.

CSO: 3100

POLAND

'POLITYKA' APPLAUDS SOLICITUDE FOR CSCE AGREEMENTS

Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 29 Apr 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Apr, PAP--The problem of human contacts in terms of the Helsinki final act is discussed in detail by the POLITYKA weekly, which compares the Polish ways of dealing with the problem with those used abroad. Poland started implementing the Helsinki final act through increased activity and definite humanitarian measures in order to improve the situation wherever it was possible or necessary, the weekly writes.

Presenting data illustrating the growing tourist traffic between Poland and other socialist and Western countries, the weekly stresses that in the course of several years in Poland a simplified procedure in obtaining passports and visas, a system of foreign exchange allowances, greater freedom in handling foreign exchange accounts by Polish citizens, and facilities for foreign tourists coming to Poland (the liquidation of the obligation to obtain visas or giving visas on the spot, for instance) have been introduced.

At the same time many Western countries apply various types of tourist restrictions aimed against Polish citizens. West German authorities last November, for instance, refused to give visas to Polish deputy Edmund Osmanczyk and accompanying persons, who wanted to take part in the session of the International Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People in Nuremberg.

The number of Polish tourists going abroad keeps increasing in spite of the fact that as a result of inflation in the West, Poland has to earmark ever larger quotas of foreign exchange for those travelling to Western Europe.

In the Helsinki resolutions much attention is paid to the problem of the uniting of families. Poland's humanitarian attitude in this respect has recently been favourably evaluated by Chancellor Schmidt in an interview for POLITYKA. According to the West German Red Cross statistics, more than 62,000 persons left Poland for the Federal Republic of Germany in the years 1971-75. In this context, the weekly reminds of the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany has retained laws according to which a considerable group of Polish citizens are treated like German nationals and are regarded as the expelled.

The problem of family reunions is by no means an easy one. Random actions cannot be taken into account in case alimony, children or divorced persons, or persons left without assistance are concerned. In truly humanitarian cases, where there are no doubts, the Polish authorities settle these things very scrupulously.

Youth exchange is one of priority issues with Poland. In 1976, the international exchange organized by the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth covered nearly 110,000 persons, 14,000 of these within Western countries.

CSO: 2020

POLAND

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTS ON EAST-WEST FLOW OF INFORMATION

Warsaw PAP in English 0611 GMT 25 Apr 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Apr, PAP--TRYBUNA LUDU today brings an extensive article about the flow of information between the East and the West.

The newspaper says that in time of profound economic crisis in the West, the Western press has been highlighting, almost exclusively, our economic difficulties and presenting a distorted picture of the socialist countries, worthy of the Cold War period.

It is true that our press has been carrying many reports from the West presenting the crisis-like phenomena existing there, but this is not a riposte of any kind but a result of the fact that these phenomena are in the focus of attention of the Western governments, the press and public. No one can deny, at the same time, that the Polish reader can find much of solid and honest information in the Polish press about the technological or cultural achievements, huge investment projects or social reforms, though limited in scope by the capitalist system, in the West. And this is true not only with regard to France, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

CSO: 2020

END